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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CORRELATES OF MARITAL COMMITMENT

by

Ⓒ J. WALTER GOLTZ

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL 1987

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ISBN 0-315-41063-9

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(SIGNED) J. Walter Goltz

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

11525 - 23 AVE
EDMONTON, AB
T6J 4T3

DATED September 30 1987

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled CORRELATES OF MARITAL COMMITMENT submitted by J. WALTER GOLTZ in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

Lyle E. Larson
Supervisor

George K. Jarvis

Charles Hobart

External Examiner

Date May 4, 1987

Abstract

Previous investigators have related marital stability to marital quality, suggesting that high quality is directly related to high stability.

This study attempts to discover how marital commitment is related to the established correlates of marital stability. It examines the empirical research related to marital stability, develops propositions relating the correlates of marital stability provided by the data to marital commitment, and fits these propositions into a broad theoretical framework. This theoretical framework tests the relationships of predisposing background characteristics, total interaction reward/tension balance, normative constraints, and external constraints with personal and structural commitment.

The data for this study is provided by the 1980 Edmonton Area Survey. Data is available from 179 husbands and wives (including 18 cohabiting couples). Propositions are tested using both individual and couple measures.

Support is found for a total of 8 propositions relating correlates to personal commitment, and 12 propositions relating correlates to structural commitment. Multiple regression equations were run which explain 20% of the variance in personal commitment and 42% of the variance in structural commitment.

Acknowledgements

The completion of a dissertation project is accompanied by a host of personal emotions. Not the least of these is the sense of gratitude to the many individuals who, in one way or another, have contributed to the completion of this project.

Dr. Lyle Larson, the chairman of my committee, has provided important insights and direction in the formulation and organization of the project, critical feedback to the initial drafts and, most important, constant encouragement to complete the project. He and his wife provide a consistent model of a committed relationship. Dr. John Gartrell has been extremely gracious in his availability, and has provided helpful directions and assistance in the statistical analysis, particularly during the absence of Dr. Larson. Mr. Cliff Kinzel has provided crucial assistance in the transfer of the EAS data to my files, practical help in statistical applications, and valuable direction in the technical aspects of computer programming. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee (Dr. Charles Hobart, Dr. George Jarvis, and Dr. Dianne Kieren) for their availability, support, and encouragement. My secretary, Mrs. Sheryl Neuman, was willing to face the frustrations of working in textform for the first time, and I appreciate her graciousness in completing this project. I would also like to thank the members of my Board who have been most cooperative in providing the necessary blocks of time to enable me to complete this project.

Most of all, I am grateful to my wife, Audrey, for her unfailing commitment to me as a person and to our marriage relationship, her willingness to sacrifice time that could have been spent with her and the family, her constant expression of love and support, and especially her patience when this project extended long beyond the time when it should have been completed. My children, Rebecca and Stephen, have also provided encouragement to complete the project, but have particularly contributed to the kind of family atmosphere which has brought joy and a deep sense of fulfillment to both of their parents.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The familiar marriage ritual "until death do us part" suggests that marriage is intended to be for life. There is little doubt that most couples standing at the marriage altar expect (or at least hope) that their marriage will last. It is no secret, however, that an increasing proportion of marriages do not last. Indeed, a growing number of young people openly question the desirability of getting married at all, and some question the viability of marriage as an institution. Consequently, the indicators used by some as evidence of family breakdown are hailed by others as evidence of liberation from oppressive and negative family relationships. Since the mid-1960's the increase in marital instability has been phenomenal, and has generated an increasing amount of research attention.

A significant proportion of this attention has been devoted to determining the demographic correlates of marital stability and/or instability. Much of the research seems to assume that the primary determinant of marital stability is the subjective experience of marital satisfaction, happiness, or adjustment. An early review of marital stability states its purpose as "to assess this expansion of knowledge about the correlates of marital happiness and stability" (Hicks & Platt, 1970:533). The most recent decade review of marital stability asserts that "the quality of most American marriages is the primary determinant of whether a marriage will remain intact" (Spanier & Lewis, 1980:826).

The impetus for this line of research is provided by a groundbreaking study (Levinger, 1965) which attempts to determine the variables associated with marital cohesiveness and dissolution. This approach is expanded by Nye et al., (1973), and further developed by Lewis and Spanier (1979). These studies are uniquely important because of their attempt to fit the existing empirical research into a theoretical framework. They all agree in their basic conclusion that positive affect balance within the marriage is the primary determinant of marital stability. This can perhaps best be summarized by the assertion that "the single greatest predictor of marital stability is marital quality" (Lewis & Spanier, 1979:273).

Lewis and Spanier are alone, however, in their recognition that many poorly adjusted marriages remain intact, while many marriages with average or even relatively good adjustment may be terminated by divorce. A suggestion for research related to marital quality in the decade of the eighties is that "we need to pay more attention to low quality, high stability marriages" (Spanier & Lewis, 1980:836).

Growing out of the recognition that many unhappy couples do not divorce and that some couples who appear adjusted do divorce, a number of researchers have begun to investigate the concept of marital dyadic commitment as a possible explanatory variable. Johnson (1973, 1978) makes a major theoretical contribution in his definition of personal and structural commitment which differentiates between internal resolve and external restraints. Clayton (1975) asserts that marital commitment is the crucial variable in understanding marital dissolution and divorce, and that three major factors determine levels of marital commitment: marital selection factors, marital interaction factors, and comparison factors. Growing out of an informal seminar, Reiss (1980) provides three key variables affecting dyadic commitment in marriage: interaction reward/tension balance, normative inputs, and structural constraints.

In addition to these theoretical approaches, a number of empirical studies have investigated factors which are directly or indirectly related to marital commitment. These include the propensity to end an unsatisfactory marriage (Glenn & Weaver, 1978), dyadic commitment (Jorgensen, 1979), divorce liberality (Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980), and thinking about divorce (Booth & White, 1980).

The purpose of this thesis is to further examine the relationship between marital commitment and marital stability by building upon the foundation of empirical and theoretical research related to marital commitment. Variables which have been related to direct and indirect measures of marital stability in previous empirical research are further investigated. Many empirical studies have simply investigated the correlates of marital stability. These correlates are investigated in this study from the perspective of how they may be related to marital commitment, and the implications of this relationship upon marital stability. Based upon the empirical research, propositions are formulated, and these are structured by the theoretical framework provided by Johnson (1973, 1978), Clayton (1975), and Reiss (1980). Four general propositions are formulated which suggest that *predisposing background characteristics* and the *total interaction reward/tension balance* are related to personal commitment, and that *normative constraints* and *external constraints* on marriage relationships are related to structural commitment.

The data for this study are provided by the 1980 Edmonton Area Survey, which placed a special focus on family life. The survey was specifically organized to collect data from both husband and wife, resulting in a subsample of 179 couples. It is this subsample which provides the data for this study.

This survey was taken at a point in time when economic development was experiencing a "boom time." This time was also marked by considerable geographical mobility and disruption and upheaval, and a corresponding increase in family problems. In a study devoted to improving family services in the city of Edmonton, and conducted at this time, Larson (1980) points out that "problematic family relationships are nearly twice as high in Alberta as in Canada on an average, and nearly twice as high in the major urban centres (Edmonton and Calgary) as in the province of

Alberta as a whole."

This setting provides a unique opportunity to study the impact of marital commitment on marital stability. Because of the unique features of the data base, propositions can be tested not only on an individual level, but also on the basis of a comparison of responses provided by both members of the marital dyad. A number of propositions, however, cannot be investigated because of the lack of appropriate information in the data base.

This investigation begins with a comprehensive review of the literature related to marital stability, marital quality, and marital commitment. This includes research on the general context of the concept of marital commitment, an examination of the theoretical and empirical formulations of this concept, and of the relationships between marital commitment, marital quality, and marital stability.

The third chapter is a detailed examination of the empirical literature which is either directly or indirectly related to the concept of marital commitment. This leads to the formulation of twenty-seven first-order propositions, of which twenty-one can be tested by the data available. These propositions are organized on the basis of a broad theoretical framework.

The fourth chapter provides the methodological approach to the investigation of marital commitment. It provides a description of the sample, how the dependent and independent variables were measured, and a description of how data analysis is carried out in the study.

The fifth chapter provides a summary of the findings related to specific propositions, followed by a discussion of the implications of these findings. The conclusion assesses the study on the basis of its contributions and limitations, and provides suggestions for further research related to marital commitment.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The consideration of marital dyadic commitment is relatively recent in marital interaction research. Writing in the mid 1970's, Dean and Spanier(1974) could claim that a search of 27 leading texts in marriage and the family failed to find a single reference to commitment as a potential variable in measuring marital success. While there has been little change with reference to the inclusion of commitment in marriage and family textbooks (this writer is aware of only two textbooks - Clayton, 1975 and Reiss, 1980 - that discuss commitment), an increasing number of journal articles and unpublished manuscripts presented at professional conferences have begun to utilize commitment or a related variable such as "thinking about divorce" (Booth & White, 1980) or "divorce liberality" (Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980) as a relevant variable in seeking to understand marital dissolution and/or stability.

Much of this initial research on commitment has been exploratory in nature. Johnson (1978) argues that where the concept has been utilized as central to the understanding of courtship and marriage it has been defined in a rather vague, unspecified way. In consequence, the major earlier papers dealing with commitment have focused on problems of definition, (Becker, 1960; Johnson, 1973; Levinger, 1965), with a resulting failure to provide any empirical analyses of its antecedents or effects. Later studies have been devoted to a detailed theoretical examination of the problems of clear definitions as well as seeking to elucidate the potential effects of commitment on marital stability (Clayton, 1975; Edwards & Saunders, 1981; Leik & Leik, 1976; Levinger, 1977, 1979; Lewis & Spanier, 1979; Reiss, 1980; Rosenblatt, 1977; Scanzoni, 1979). These studies, however, have evidenced little agreement on the definition or antecedents of commitment, nor do they provide any empirical support for their theoretical constructions. A few empirical studies have attempted to measure the antecedents of marital dyadic commitment (Booth & White, 1980; Coombs & Zumeta, 1970; Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980), or its possible relation to marital dissolution and/or stability (Albrecht & Kunz, 1980; Ammons & Stinnet, 1980, Jaffe & Kanter, 1976). In addition, a small number of empirical studies have found varying levels of commitment for differing stages (e.g., dating, cohabiting, married) of interpersonal relationships (Johnson, 1978, Leik _et_ _al_., 1978; Lewis _et_ _al_., 1977; Lyness, 1978) but even these studies utilize differing measures of commitment.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a summary of the general context within which the research on marital commitment has taken place, to critically evaluate the specific formulations of marital dyadic commitment and related concepts, to explicate possible relations between commitment, marital quality, and marital stability, and to examine the theoretical foundations of commitment research.

A. General Context of Research on Marital Commitment

One of the earliest contributions to a broad understanding of commitment in interpersonal relations was formulated by Becker (1960), who provides a formal analysis of the concept and seeks to integrate it with current sociological theory. "Sociologists typically make use of the concept of commitment when they are trying to account for the fact that people engage in consistent lines of activity" (Becker, 1960:33). Such consistent behaviour persists over some period of time and implies a rejection by the actor of feasible alternatives. Commitment is defined as side bets which link extraneous interests of the actor with a consistent line of activity. "The committed person has acted in such a way as to involve other interests of his, originally extraneous to the action he is engaged in, directly in that action" (Becker, 1960:35). While Becker's discussion is not related directly to marital commitment, it certainly has practical implications for this area. Thus, for example, he maintains that a person sometimes finds that side bets constrain his present activity because the existence of generalized cultural expectations provides penalties for those who violate them (e.g., social attitudes to divorce). A person may also find that side bets have been made for him by the operation of impersonal bureaucratic arrangements (e.g., strict divorce laws), or through the process of individual adjustment to social positions (e.g., the effects of duration of marriage). Other people may also help one preserve the side bets he has entered into (e.g., reactions of kin and friends to a prospective marital dissolution).

Within the same broad perspective, but with more direct application to the family, Hobart(1963) traces four major changes which weaken the solidarity of the family: loss of family functions; increased personal mobility; decline of status ascription and increase in status achievement; and, the ascendancy of materialistic values. These changes result in a value conflict between unlimited commitment to people or to achievement and success.

> A family presumes unlimited commitment between family members: "till death do you part" between husband and wife, "all we can do for the kids" on the part of parents toward children. But the priority of these love and concern values is directly challenged by success and achievement values which may imply that status symbols are more important than babies; that what a child achieves is more important than what he is; that what we own is more important than what we are (Hobart, 1963:407).

Hobart argues that success values need to be displaced by the more human-oriented being, knowing, caring, loving values. "A key to this value change lies in renewed commitment to the family and in thus reestablishing the centrality of the commitment to inefficient, human values which the family relationship symbolizes" (Hobart, 1963:410).

The preceding studies provide an important context within which future work on commitment is framed. Becker's concept of side bets suggests the existence of external constraints on relationships which have the effect of maintaining consistent lines of activities or preventing the dissolution of existing relationships. Hobart's application to the family argues that broad changes within society tend to weaken the effects of such side bets, and to raise the necessity of resolving the pervasive value conflicts which will enable the family to survive in an achievement-oriented society. The absence or weakening of external constraints logically suggests the necessity of an increase of internal resolve, or a commitment to "inefficient human values" symbolized by the family relationship.

The seminal article (Levinger, 1965) which has provided the theoretical framework for most subsequent studies of commitment within the marital relationship sought to determine the variables associated with marital cohesiveness and dissolution. Marital cohesiveness is seen as a special case of group cohesiveness in general, and the strength of a marital relationship is regarded as "a direct function of the attractions within and barriers around the marriage, and an inverse function of such attractions and barriers from other relationships" (Levinger, 1965:19). Factors which differentiate between high and low cohesive marriages are thus defined as sources of alternative attraction. This suggests the existence of two primary dimensions underlying every marriage: the attractions within the marriage as compared to alternative attractions, and the strength or weakness of boundaries around the marriage. Levinger suggests that the strength of such boundaries is irrelevant as long as the partners' attraction is high enough that they do not consider alternatives.

Sources of attraction are defined by Levinger as: affectional rewards, including esteem for spouse, desire for companionship, and sexual enjoyment; socio-economic rewards, including husband's income, home ownership, husband's education, and husband's occupation; and similarity in social status including religion, education and age. Sources of barrier strength are defined as: feelings of obligation to dependent children and to the marital bond; moral proscriptions such as proscriptive religion and joint church attendance; and external pressures such as primary group affiliations, community stigma, and legal and economic bars. Sources of alternate attraction are defined as: affectional rewards such as preferred alternate sex partner, disjunctive social relations, or opposing religious affiliations; and economic rewards such as wife's opportunity for independent income.

Arising from his discussion of barriers and bonds Levinger (1965) suggests three approaches to increasing the durability of marriage. The first, and probably most effective, is to increase the positive attractiveness of the relationship through marriage enrichment or renewal of the partners' interest in each other. Secondly, one can decrease the attractiveness of alternate relationships, although the means of doing so are not indicated, nor would this approach be a necessary or sufficient means of enhancing marital satisfaction. The third approach is increasing barriers, although Levinger recognizes that high barriers are likely to lead to high interpersonal conflict and tension.

Levinger extends and clarifies his discussion of attractions, barriers, and alternate attractions in subsequent articles. His conceptual framework is based on the assumption that:

> ...people stay in relationships because they are attracted to them and/or they are barred from leaving them, and that, consciously or not, people compare their current relationships with alternative ones. If internal attractions and barrier forces become distinctly weaker than those from a viable alternative, the consequence is breakup (Levinger, 1976:43).

The primary implication of Levinger's work is that close relationships may be held together through obligations which are either taken on voluntarily by the partners or imposed from outside by the society. Private commitments emerge out of repeated positive interactions, whereas public obligation is imposed by social norms to which both members of a relationship subscribe (Levinger, 1977).

One of the major strengths of Levinger's analysis is that it is firmly anchored in the established tradition of the social psychological study of groups. "The concepts are the same as those employed for understanding the cohesiveness of other social groups" (Levinger, 1965:28). Furthermore, he clearly recognizes the important contributions of both personal attractions to the relationship, as well as external constraints or barriers to dissolving the relationship. A number of subsequent studies consider the contribution of personal attractions or bonds, but fail to consider the possible impact of external constraints on marital stability. (Albrecht & Kunz, 1980; Ammons & Stinnett, 1980; Jorgensen, 1979; Rosenblatt, 1977). Levinger's work has provided a major stimulus for a number of important theoretical and empirical studies of marital commitment (Clayton, 1975; Edwards & Saunders, 1981; Johnson, 1973, 1978; Lewis & Spanier, 1979; Nye et al., 1973; Reiss, 1980).

Despite this major contribution to the subsequent analysis of commitment, a number of weaknesses in the approach can be identified. First, no consideration is given to the possible effects of family background and/or demographic characteristics of the marital partners. Clayton (1975) suggests that the family background and early dating-courtship experiences of married persons is an important variable in analyzing marital commitment, and this contention is supported by a great deal of empirical research (Booth & White, 1980; Bumpass & Sweet, 1972; Cherlin, 1977; Coombs & Zumeta, 1970; Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980; Mott & Moore, 1979; Norton & Glick, 1976; Price-Bonham & Balswick, 1980; Spanier & Glick, 1981). Second, Levinger's formulation fails to see marital interaction as essentially a process (Edwards & Saunders, 1981; Reiss, 1980). Such an approach would need to examine the dynamics of marital interaction, the impact on marital commitment of agreement and disagreement of spouses, the effects of variable outweighs sanctions and interdependency. If this is true, then any marriage characterized by high positive affect balance should be stable" (Nye _et_ _al_., 1973:112).

Lewis and Spanier indicate that the above formulation of marital stability "stands as one of the most parsimonious and coherent attempts at theory construction in this area" and that "it is noteworthy in its specificity and testability, since its level of abstraction is of a relatively low order and its concepts are easily operationalized" (1979:270). This approach therefore serves as an excellent example of linking research and theory.

Lewis and Spanier (1979) utilize the basic approach to theory building established by Nye and colleagues to develop a model which establishes "marital quality" as the key variable in understanding marital stability. Marital quality is defined as the subjective evaluation of a married couple's relationships, and is composed of such factors as adjustment, satisfaction, happiness, conflict and role strain, communication, and integration. Marital stability is defined as the formal or informal status of a marriage as intact or nonintact. Stable marriage is terminated only by the death of a spouse. Unstable marriage is one which is willfully terminated by one or both spouses. The implication of this definition is that intact marriages are stable marriages and hence they are marriages of high quality. Lewis and Spanier recognize, however, that many poorly adjusted marriages remain intact, while many marriages with average or even relatively good adjustment may be terminated by divorce.

The scheme for identifying marital quality and stability includes the four general categories of premarital predispositions, marital quality during the marriage period, threshold variables, and the post-marital period. These four categories are seen as suggestive of the processual nature of marital interaction, and identify marital quality as a dynamic rather than a static concept.

While the authors recognize that the threshold variables may be most influential in determining the circumstances under which a marriage will remain intact or terminate, they assert that "the single greatest predictor of marital stability is marital quality" and that "the key to our approach to marital stability is to understand marital quality primarily and the operation of threshold mechanisms secondarily" (Lewis & Spanier, 1979:273). Six threshold variables are identified (marital expectations, commitment to the marriage and its associated obligations, tolerance for conflict and disharmony, religious doctrine and commitment, external pressures and amenability to social stigma, divorce law and availability of legal aid, and real and perceived alternatives), but because these are not regarded as of central importance, they are not further defined or discussed.

There is no doubt that the relationship between marital quality and marital stability is extremely important, but the failure to further explore the impact of the so-called threshold variables is a serious omission. When we consider the possible impact of "tolerance for conflict and disharmony" for example, it may help us to explain why certain marriages break up while others remain intact despite the fact that both evidence the same level of marital quality. Similarly, the impact of divorce law on marital stability became readily apparent in the increase in divorce following the passage of the divorce legislation in 1968. A similar case can be made for the impact of the other threshold variables, including marital commitment. Thus, even when marital quality is low, a high level of commitment may contribute to the stability of marriages. This relationship requires further investigation.

The use of the propositional inventory led to the formulation of three general areas of marital quality, with three accompanying third-order propositions. The first area is that of premarital factors, with the following proposition: "The greater the social and personal resources available for adequate marital role functioning, the higher the subsequent marital quality" (Lewis & Spanier, 1979:275). The second area is that of social and economic factors, summarized by the following proposition: "The greater the spouses' satisfaction with their life style, the greater their marital quality" (Lewis & Spanier, 1979:279). The third area is that of interpersonal and dyadic factors, summarized by the proposition: "The greater the rewards from spousal interaction, the greater the marital quality."

The greatest proportion of the Lewis and Spanier article is devoted to the explication of the relationship between marital quality as the dependent variable and its various correlates (74 first-order propositions). An extremely small proportion of the article is devoted to an examination of the relationship between marital quality and marital stability. One main proposition is advanced to describe this relationship: "The greater the marital quality, the greater the marital stability" (Lewis & Spanier, 1979:288). Two other contingent or control variables are advanced as affecting the central relationship between marital quality and marital stability. Alternative attractions are presented as negatively influencing the level of marital quality and hence stability, whereas normative constraints to remain married positively influence the level of marital quality and stability (Lewis & Spanier, 1979:288). These relationships are diagrammatically presented in Figure 2.1 (from Lewis & Spanier, 1979:289).

A rather devastating critique of the formulation is made (Thomas & Kleber, 1981) with reference to the two contingent variables, suggesting that on the basis of exchange theory one would predict relationships exactly opposite from those proposed. Lewis & Spanier argue that alternative attractions negatively influence the relationship between marital quality and stability. In contrast, Thomas & Kleber maintain that increasing

Figure 2.1 has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

alternative attractions strengthens the relationship between marital quality and marital stability. On the basis of exchange theory they predict that as couples experience high profit from their marriage (high marital quality), they will more likely elect to stay married despite high alternative attractions than would couples experiencing low profit in their marriages (low marital quality). Those experiencing low marital quality would be more likely to terminate their marriages given high alternative attractions. They would therefore predict that the strength of the relationship between marital quality and stability increases as alternative attractions increase, whereas Spanier & Lewis predict the opposite. Similarly, Lewis & Spanier argue that increasing external pressures to remain married would positively influence the strength of the relationship between marital quality and stability. In contrast, Thomas & Kleber propose that as the control variable of external pressures to remain married increases, the strength of the relationship between marital quality and stability weakens. Couples with low marital quality and high external pressures would likely remain married, making marital quality a poor predictor of stability (a weak relationship). Marital quality , however, should be a good predictor of marital stability (a strong relationship) for couples with low pressures to remain married. Spanier & Lewis (1981) admit the possible errors, suggesting that these may have taken place in the shift from looking at the impact of alternative attractions and external pressures upon marital quality *alone* to focusing on the impact of these two contingent variables upon the *relationship* between marital quality and marital stability. This points out the need for further research into the possible influence of such contingent variables, including marital commitment.

Edwards and Saunders (1981) point out two major commonalities between the theoretical efforts of Levinger, Nye *et al*., and Lewis and Spanier. First, each of the approaches, either implicitly or explicitly, is strongly dependent on exchange theory and its concept of rewards within the marital relationship, the personal profits available outside the marital relationship, and the importance of external influences on the perceived nature of the marriage. Secondly, each of these approaches has relied heavily on existing empirical literature for its formulation, thus sharing a similar level of generality and abstraction, which is high in informational content and yet easily operationalizable for testing purposes. This results in an intimate link between empirical research and theory which advances our understanding of stability beyond the simple bivariate relationships upon which the bulk of the empirical literature is based.

As already indicated, the above literature is only indirectly related to marital dyadic commitment, but it is important for its provision of the general theoretical context within which the approach to marital commitment is framed. While recognizing the potential influence of external constraints, this literature is consistent in presenting strong personal relationships or personal interaction as the essential key to understanding marital cohesiveness or stability. Thus, for example, Levinger (1965) suggests that the strength of boundaries is irrelevant as long as the partners' attraction is high enough that they do not consider alternatives. Similarly, Nye _et al_., (1973) suggest that affect balance outweighs both sanctions and interdependency in determining marital stability. Lewis and Spanier (1979) argue that marital quality is the primary variable contributing to marital stability, with alternative attractions and external pressures acting as contingency factors which mediate the central relationship between marital quality and marital stability. In contrast, the specific formulations of marital commitment considered in the next section, while recognizing the importance of strong personal relationships in marriage, also consider other potentially important factors in a meaningful analysis of marital stability.

B. Specific Formulations of Marital Commitment

The research noted above provides an important context for an understanding of marital commitment as it is related to marital stability. If it deals with commitment at all, however, it defines it as having only secondary importance in understanding marital stability. During the decade of the

1970's an increasing number of researchers have isolated commitment as an important variable in understanding and explaining marital stability.

Johnson (1973) represents one of the first major attempts to deal with the relationship of commitment to marital stability. In his initial definition of commitment he differentiates between personal commitment, or a strong personal dedication to a decision to carry out a particular line of action, and behavioral commitment, which is defined in terms of external restraint (based on Becker, 1960), or as "those consequences of an initial pursuit of a line of action" (Johnson, 1973:397). Behavioral commitment consists of two components: social commitment and cost commitment. A preliminary operationalization of the concept compared 28 cohabiting couples with 19 married couples, and found that the married couples demonstrated greater personal commitment, social commitment, and cost commitment than the cohabiting couples.

Johnson (1978) elaborates the concepts developed in his earlier paper by a clearer differentiation between personal commitment and what he now refers to as structural commitment. Personal commitment is defined as a sense of determination to continue a line of action despite adversity or temptations to deviate. Three major components of personal commitment are isolated. The first of these is the attitude basis, which is dependent upon the individual's satisfaction with the relationship, deriving from either an assessment of the pros and cons of a relationship or from a process of classical conditioning in which the relationship becomes attractive through its association with positive events. A later paper (Johnson, 1985) makes a further distinction between attraction to one's partner and attraction to the relationship. One may experience a high level of attraction to one's partner, for example, and yet be deeply dissatisfied with the relationship, as in many abusive relationships. The second major component is the definition of self in terms of the relationship. Thus a person sees himself/herself in the enactment of the role connected with a particular position such as husband or wife, and has a difficult time conceiving himself/herself in any other context. The third major component is an internalized sense of moral obligation to the maintenance of the relationship. This obligation may derive from a general belief that one should finish what one starts, or it may reflect religious values ("What God hath joined together let no man put asunder"), or it may indicate a perception of the relationship as involving an implicit contract which obligates one to its maintenance regardless of the costs involved. In his later paper (Johnson, 1985) the suggestion is made that it might be clearer to shift to a three-part commitment framework: personal commitment, moral commitment, and structural commitment. This recommendation arises from the observation that moral commitment is defined as a component of personal commitment, whereas Levinger places moral commitment with barriers rather than with attractions, and Stanley places moral obligation with structural or constraint commitment. While recognizing the operation of external moral obligation imposed by significant others, Johnson argues there is also an internalized sense of personal moral obligation in which the feeling of constraint is one of self-constraint.

Structural commitments are defined as "events or conditions which constrain the individual to continue a line of action once he/she has initiated it, regardless of his/her personal commitment to it" (Johnson, 1978:4). Four general types of structural commitment mechanisms are defined: termination procedures, irretrievable investments, social pressures and available alternatives. *Termination procedures* indicate that once one has initiated a line of action, one must take some specific steps in order to discontinue it. The cost of such termination may be trivial as in casual dating, or it may be great as in divorce. *Irretrievable investments* recognize the fact that the development and maintenance of a relationship requires one to invest time, energy, emotional involvement, money, or other possibly irretrievable resources. Such investments require foregoing a variety of alternative possibilities. Should the long-term relationship end, such investments would be defined as failures or wasted efforts. *Social pressures* arise from the fact that other people build patterns of behavior around our lines of action and take us into account in making their own plans, with the result that they develop certain expectations with regard to our continuation of the relationship. Any attempt on our part to change the relationship may consequently meet with resistance from these others. The fourth type of structural commitment is a consideration of *available alternatives*. Involvement in a relationship may restrict the range of available alternatives by restricting our cognitive accessibility to sources of information concerning alternative lines of action, or by real changes in the social environment which results in the unwillingness of others to become involved with us in alternative relationships. It is recognized by the author that this formulation of personal and structural commitment is directly based upon Levinger's concept of social cohesion (Johnson, 1978:9). This clearly places this research within the general context of the stability literature discussed earlier. A non-random, non-representative student sample indicates that the operationalization of these measures of commitment is able to differentiate between cohabiting and married couples, with married couples demonstrating a higher level of commitment. This analysis provides no indication, however, of the relationship of commitment to stability, nor does it provide any understanding of the antecedents of commitment. The most useful aspect of Johnson's research is the provision of a clear definition of marital commitment which can be utilized in research dealing with its antecedents and consequences.

A more detailed model of marital commitment (Clayton, 1975) also builds directly on Levinger's (1965) formulation of marital cohesiveness and dissolution, but seeks to overcome several gaps identified in Levinger's approach (Figure 2.2). While recognizing that "a commitment to spouse and the marriage, plus the presence of personal, social, structural, and cultural barriers to pressures for dissolution, will reduce the likelihood of a marriage terminating because of alternative sources of attraction" (Clayton, 1975:579), he isolates several large gaps in Levinger's approach. The first gap is the failure to consider family background and early dating-courtship experiences of married persons. Biographical events prior to marital selection are regarded as predisposing in the sense that people with certain types of experiences are more likely to dissolve a marriage than are others. A number of factors which are generally viewed as being more conducive to marital stability and which are related to family background, achievement and identification, and heterosexual dating experiences are summarized. The second gap is the failure to define marriage as dyadic interaction with the result that virtually no attention is given to such factors as: (1) the interaction of spouses with one another; (2) the prevailing power configuration within the family; (3) adjustment and satisfaction levels experienced in the marriage as compared to expectations; (4) family life cycle stage. The crucial variable in understanding marital dissolution and divorce "is not marital cohesiveness, but rather the degree of commitment each spouse has to the other and to the marriage" (Clayton, 1975:580). A closer study of the model (Figure 2.2) indicates the postulation of three

FIGURE 2.2 MARITAL COMMITMENT PROBABILITIES

Figure 2.2 has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

major factors which contribute to or determine levels of marital commitment: marital selection factors (A and B), marital interaction factors (C_1, C_2, and C_3) and comparison factors (D). This model represents a considerable improvement over Johnson's approach in that it spells out major determinants of marital commitment from a theoretical perspective, although there is no indication of empirical support for the model.

Another recent formulation of marital dyadic commitment (Reiss, 1980) also reveals considerable dependence on the work of Levinger. Arising out of an informal seminar of four faculty members and five graduate students devoted to a discussion of dyadic commitment, three key variables affecting dyadic commitment in marriage are found: (1) interaction reward-tension balance, (2) normative inputs, and (3) structural constraints. This model of dyadic commitment is presented in Table 2.1 (Reiss, 1980:265).

TABLE 2.1 PREDICTORS OF DYADIC COMMITMENT

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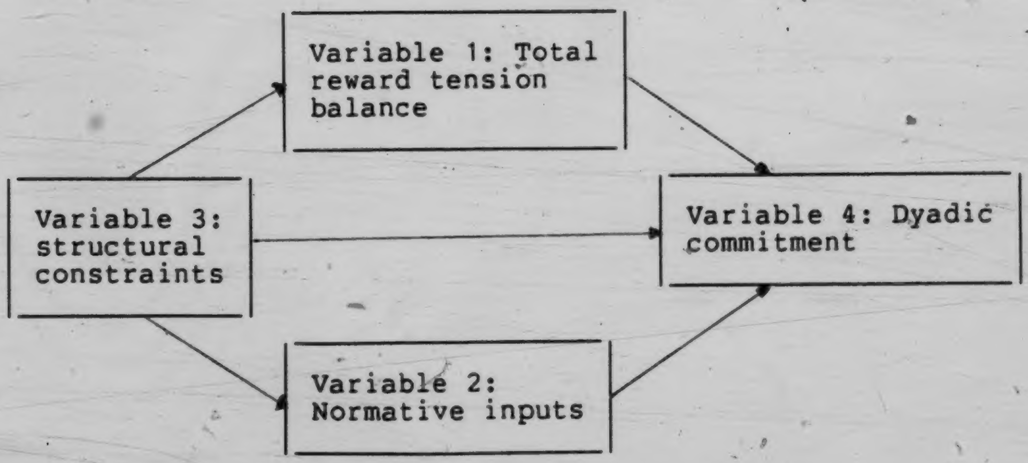
TABLE 2.1 PREDICTORS OF DYADIC COMMITMENT


Variable 1: Total reward tension balance
Variable 3: structural constraints
Variable 4: Dyadic commitment
Variable 2: Normative inputs

Interaction reward-tension balance is the most obvious factor affecting one's determination to stay in a particular dyadic relationship. Reiss points out that many researchers assume a unidimensional scale resulting in a negative relationship between tensions and rewards. Actual research, however, indicates that marital rewards and marital tensions are largely independent qualities of a marital relationship. Knowledge of a person's measure on one of these qualities does not permit one to predict the person's position on the other quality. Consequently the balance between rewards and tensions is significant, and these must be separately estimated because they are not correlated.

Normative inputs are regarded as the second major factor affecting dyadic commitment. Thus the belief that marriage is a union for life and that divorce and remarriage are unacceptable would increase dyadic commitment irrespective of the reward-tension balance. It could be a major contributing factor in the continuation of a marriage where the tensions far outweigh the rewards. Support of a marriage by friends and kin is also suggested as a normative support contributing to dyadic commitment.

Structural constraints are regarded as the third source of dyadic commitment, and are defined as the patterned ways in which our social roles relate to each other and to the way in which we perform the marital role. A significant body of research (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Rollins & Feldman, 1970;

Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Campbell, 1975) indicates that parental roles have a negative effect upon marital roles. On the other hand, occupational success has been traditionally related in a positive manner to dyadic commitment. A third area of structural constraints suggested by Reiss is that of shared ties with kin and friends.

It should be noted that, according to Reiss's model, structural constraints are viewed as having a direct effect on dyadic commitment, just as the other two major variables do. But structural constraints also have indirect effects on dyadic commmitment through their effects on reward-tension balance and normative inputs. Thus, for example, structural constraints such as relationships with children or with one's work will lead to changes in interaction with one's spouse and thus alter the reward-tension balance, which in turn affects dyadic commitment, Similarly, structural constraints may affect one's view relevant to such normative beliefs that marriage is for life, and thus again indirectly affect dyadic commitment. Because structural constraints not only have direct effects but also indirect effects on commitment, they are regarded as the key dynamic element in the theory.

The most recent attempt (Figure 2.3) to develop a model of marital commitment (Edwards & Saunders, 1981:384) also builds upon the pioneering work of Levinger, as well as taking into account the more recent formulations of factors associated with marital stability provided by Nye _et al_.

(1973), and Lewis and Spanier (1979).

FIGURE 2.3 EDWARDS/SAUNDERS MODEL OF MARITAL DISSOLUTION

Figure 2.3 has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

The approach used in constructing the model was to systematically inspect and corroborate the empirical generalizations noted in the reviews of others (Nye et al., 1969; Lewis & Spanier, 1979), to add other generalizations found in related literature, and finally to include parts of exchange and choice theory to seek to fill significant gaps. Two major weaknesses of the previous research and theoretical approaches are identified: (1) The tendency of previous research to obscure the underlying processual nature of the dissolution decision, which is often clearly recognized theoretically, but which is seldom explicitly delineated in the sequential character of their models. (2)

The failure to recognize the duality of the marital relationship, or the fact that two persons are involved in every marriage. It is necessary to recognize this duality in the model of dissolution and to

> ...take into account that in a marital relationship two separate personalities are interacting, two relatively heterogenous value and need systems confront each other, and two different behavioral systems are present. Without such an accounting, any formulation is likely to remain a partial one and to depict a very one-sided view of the dissolution process in the face of substantial evidence to the contrary (Edwards & Saunders, 1981:381).

It is readily apparent that the specific formulations of marital commitment clearly fall within the general context of marital cohesion established by Levinger and explicated by Nye and colleagues, and by Lewis and Spanier. A comparison of the basic constructs utilized by the seven major theoretical approaches in their discussion of marital stability and/or marital commitment, indicates that there is considerable overlap between the different studies (Table 2.2). The two factors of attractions and barriers are found in each of the theoretical statements of marital stability and marital commitment. All of the studies evidence broad agreement in their basic definitions of these two factors as well. The concept of alternative attractions affecting marital stability and/or commitment is suggested in five of the seven theoretical approaches to this area. It needs to be recognized, however, that this concept is essentially a theoretical construct contributed by the exchange literature, but that it has little or no empirical basis

TABLE 2.2 A COMPARISON OF BASIC CONSTRUCTS OF MAJOR THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO MARITAL STABILITY

LEVINGER	**NYE *et. al.***	**LEWIS & SPANIER**	**JOHNSON**	**CLAYTON**	**REISS**	**EDWARDS & SAUNDERS**
Attractions	Affect balance	Satisfaction with lifestyle and rewards from interaction	Personal commitment	Marital satisfaction, evaluation of adequacy of marital interaction, and tolerance of ambiguity	Total reward-tension balance	Marital congruity
Barriers	Severity of anticipated sanctions	External pressures to stay married	Structural commitment	Demands on spouse from external sources	Structural constraints	Barriers
Alternative Attractions	Task interdependency and probable availablility of another mate to perform it	Alternative attractions		Image of the future of the marriage versus viable alternatives		Alternatives and comparison level of alternative goodness outcome
		Social and personal resources		Predisposing background events prior to marriage and factors related to marital selection		Predisposing background characteristics and advanced mate selection adjustment
					Normative Inputs	

(Edwards & Saunders, 1981). In contrast, the concept of social and personal resources or of predisposing background characteristics appears in only three of the seven theoretical statements, but it has a solid base of empirical support. Finally, the concept of normative inputs appears in only one of the theoretical statements (Reiss, 1980) as a separate factor. It is clearly included, however, in all of the other studies, but is generally subsumed under barriers to marital dissolution. The decision to separate normative inputs from structural constraints may certainly be questioned from a theoretical perspective, but it is argued that such a separation is possible from a pragmatic perspective and that it is supported by a considerable body of research.

This body of research forms the basis of the theoretical statement of marital dyadic commitment utilized in the present research effort. It should be noted that the specific formulations of marital commitment adopt the theoretical context of marital stability and apply it to commitment without explanation or justification. Whether it is assumed that marital commitment equals marital stability or how they are related is never discussed in this literature.

A close examination of this literature reveals that personality factors or personality traits are conspicuous by their absence as a possible explanation of marital commitment. Johnson's (1978) concept of personal commitment indirectly refers to such personality factors as attitudes of satisfaction with the relationship or to the sense of moral obligation to the maintenance of the relationship.

Despite the fact that the contemporary study of "family interaction can be traced to Burgess' view of the family as 'a unity of interacting personalities', the personality aspects of marriage have been accorded a relatively small corner in the edifice of marriage" (Doherty, 1980:1). Doherty argues this is because marriage is largely the domain of sociologists who are untrained in personality theory and whose theoretical bias is toward social causation, whereas personality is largely the domain of psychologists who emphasize personal causation and typically ignore marriage. Personality is defined by Doherty as the relatively enduring characteristics of individuals. Thus, for example, the classic, oft-replicated finding is that neurotic traits in individual spouses are associated with lower happiness scores. The impact of personality factors can also be seen in such theoretical approaches as Rotter's internal-external control expectancy construct (locus of control), which is related to the individual's belief about the controllability of the environment.

Doherty develops a conceptual model linking personality and marital problem solving which proposes that two key personality dimensions (complexity and belief in personal control) are associated with two key interaction variables (problem-solving adaptability and effort) which ultimately are related to problem-solving effectiveness. The model suggests that "the more personal complexity that individual spouses bring into a marriage, the greater the adaptability or flexibility of their marital problem-solving interaction" and that "the stronger the sense of personal control or efficacy that individuals bring into a marital relationship, the more likelihood that the marital problem-solving interactions will be characterized by higher levels of effort, persistence and assertiveness" (Doherty, 1980:7).

In a critical response to Doherty's article, Larson (1980) points out that while the proposed relationships may operate on an individual level, the attempt to apply them to marital relationships creates a much more complex picture than is assumed in the article. The question of how you can combine the relative personal complexity or personal control of both husband and wife in a simple additive model is questioned. "The nature of creative interaction is more difficult to anticipate . . . adding two personalities creates the ideal environment for the unanticipated" (Larson, 1980:6).

Yoder and Nichols (1980) apply Altman and Taylor's social penetration theory in a comparison of remarried, married, divorced and never-married persons. Social penetration theory argues that the development of interpersonal relationships is affected not only by reward/cost factors, but also by situational determinants and personality factors. Situational determinants are related to societal contexts which, for example, place a strong stress on pairing, but also provide a growing acceptance of divorce as a solution to marital discord. A considerable body of research findings demonstrates that situational determinants and reward/cost factors are associated with marital instability, but the category of personality characteristics, according to Yoder and Nichols, has not received a great deal of attention in previous research. At the same time, personality characteristics "will be important variables only insofar as they are associated with marital instability over and above what we can already account for with these other factors" (Yoder & Nichols, 1980:414). Using a national social survey, forty attitude and opinion items were factor analyzed, and four attitude factors were identified: life satisfaction, trust, optimism, and political conservatism. Control factors such as age and education, and the background factors of: (1) living with both, one, or neither parent, (2) number of siblings, (3) residence at age 16 (rural/urban), (4) current residence, (5) church attendance, (6) family income, and (7) family income at 16 were all measured. Applying discriminant analysis, it was found that the four attitudinal variables significantly differentiated remarried, married, divorced and never-married groups, after removing the effects of the control and background variables. It is concluded by this study that attitudes, as examples of personality characteristics, do contribute to the stability or instability of couples in relationships.

In addition to the theoretical formulations of marital commitment, a number of important empirical research studies have investigated this subject or closely related subjects, particularly from the viewpoint of antecedents of marital commitment.

C. Empirical Studies of Commitment and/or Related Concepts

One of the earliest attempts to address the concept of commitment as it affects marital stability is a study of the correlates of marital dissolution (Coombs & Zumeta, 1970). The data is based on intensive home interviews with a cross-section sample of 1,304 women at important family life stages, taken prior to the time of marital disruption, and measured during a 5-year longitudinal fertility study of family growth patterns in the Detroit area. Related to structural commitment, one of the questions asked at the initial interview was whether a couple ought to remain together in a disharmonious marriage when there were children involved. Four out of five women (80%) in disrupted marriages compared to less than half of those in intact marriages answered this question in the negative. This finding is simply reported without any further investigation of its implications, or of its possible relation to other factors.

In a multivariate, multisurvey study of marital happiness based on data from the General Social Surveys conducted by NORC (National Opinion Research Center) in 1973, 1974, 1975, Glenn and Weaver (1978) indicate that the most striking aspect of their data is that the correlation coefficients, betas, and R^2's are so small that there appear to be no explanatory variables. Of seven independent variables only church attendance and presence of children are related to marital happiness on a statistically significant level. In seeking to explain this surprising finding the authors suggest

> ...that 'propensity to end an unsatisfactory marriage' is an unmeasured variable which may intervene between some of the independent variables and the dependent variable, thus providing indirect effects which in some cases enhance and in other cases offset the direct effects of the independent variables (Glenn & Weaver, 1978:271).

Jorgensen (1979) reports the effects of socioeconomic rewards on perceived marital quality. Five measures of socioeconomic reward contributions of both husband and wife were linked to indicators of marital quality measured by perceived role competence of spouse, marital satisfaction, and dyadic commitment. Dyadic commitment, in this study, is defined as one of the indicators of marital quality. Dyadic commitment was measured by pooling the response to three questions related to personal intentions to continue in the marriage, resulting in a composite dyadic commitment score for each spouse in the sample. The findings are generally unsupportive of the idea that higher levels of socioeconomic rewards are associated with more satisfying and stable marriages. The study does indicate, however, that dyadic commitment of the husband is positively and significantly related to the educational attainments of his spouse.

A number of studies are devoted to an understanding of factors which are theoretically related to marital commitment but which do not directly examine the concept of commitment. Jorgensen and Johnson (1980) gathered data by means of an in-depth interview of a randomly selected sample of 240 spouses (120 couples), with a view to measuring the correlates of divorce liberality. Divorce liberality is defined as a continuum of attitudes ranging from opposition to divorce to overall acceptance of divorce. Thus divorce liberality may be viewed as the opposite of marital commitment, and has particular application to Reiss's concept of normative inputs to commitment. Five of the seven independent variables were significantly related to divorce liberality, but none of them yielded particularly strong correlates. The full complement of significant correlates entered in a multiple regression analysis explained only 12% of the variance in the dependent variable of divorce liberality.

A large number of studies have investigated the correlates of marital dissolution or divorce (Spanier & Lewis, 1980). The study of Booth and White (1980) is significant in that it is an investigation of the correlates between a number of independent variables and the dependent variable of thinking about divorce, which again may be regarded as the opposite of marital commitment. The significance lies in the fact that this is not a retrospective study of those factors which have contributed to an existing divorce, but rather is an analysis of marriages in process. Marital satisfaction is the only independent variable which is statistically significant for both men and women, but some rather interesting findings emerge concerning the relationship between marital satisfaction and thinking about divorce. On the one hand, 4% of the respondents who reported their marriages as "very happy" were nevertheless considering the possibility of divorce. On the other hand, 21% who indicated their marriages were only "pretty happy" or that they were "not too happy" were considering the possibility of divorce. This means that 79% of those who were only "pretty happy" or "not too happy" had nevertheless not considered the possibility of divorce. Booth and White utilize the concept of barriers or lack of them in order to explain these findings.

> The differences between the factors found here and those mentioned in the divorce literature suggest that there may be powerful factors which operate to keep some unhappy husbands and wives from even thinking about divorce and which encourage some happily married people to consider divorce (Booth & White, 1980:615).

In summary, empirical studies have demonstrated that even a crude measure of commitment is able to differentiate high stability from low stability marriages (Coombs & Zumeta, 1970). A major multi-survey study failed to find the usual high correlations between selected independent variables and a global measure of marital happiness (Glenn &

Weaver, 1978), and consequently suggests the 'propensity to end an unsatisfactory marriage' may be an unmeasured intervening variable. Finally, a number of independent variables have been found to correlate with measures which are theoretically related to the measure of marital commitment (Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980; Booth & White, 1980). These findings, taken as a whole, suggest that the concept of marital commitment has some theoretical relevance. The question which remains is how marital commitment is related to marital quality and/or marital stability. The following section will be devoted to a theoretical consideration of this question.

D. The Relationships of Marital Commitment, Quality, and Stability

The preceding review of literature has made a strong case for the theoretical approaches of Levinger (1965), Nye _et_ _al_.(1973) and Lewis and Spanier (1979). The Lewis and Spanier treatment of marital stability is both the most recent as well as the most extensive review of the empirical and theoretical literature in this area. The central proposition of this approach is the following: "The greater the marital quality, the greater the marital stability" (Lewis & Spanier, 1979:288). In other words, marital quality is positively related to marital stability. Even if we accept the assumption that the single greatest predictor of marital stability is marital quality, and that indicators of marital quality will explain the greatest proportion of variance in marital stability, we still face a major gap in explaining several important research findings.

An area of research closely related to marital quality is that which examines the changes in marital satisfaction over the family life cycle. A major study with a large random sample (Blood & Wolfe, 1960) found a general decline in marital satisfaction over the family life cycle. Pineo (1961) found a similar trend, which he referred to as a process of disenchantment, and his findings are further supported by Luckey (1966). A number of other studies argue that marital satisfaction is curvilinear, with satisfaction being high among young couples, declining after the birth of the first child and reaching the highest point during the postparental stage (Burr, 1970; Rollins & Feldman, 1970; Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Glenn, 1975). In an incisive critique of this literature Schramm (1979) argues that the consistent use of cross-sectional data hides from the potential sample of postparental units the gradual elimination of those marriages which end in divorce. Couples who are unsatisfied with their marriages will seek a divorce, and the removal of these unhappy marriages has the effect of artificially increasing the main marital satisfaction scores for each subsequent age level. A further difficulty of cross-sectional data is that life course changes are obscured by the fact that each advancing age group is a more select segment of the population. "Older couples, now in the later stages of family life, were probably socialized, married, and formed their families of procreation within a more traditional milieux accounting for low divorce rates and a greater initial continuing commitment to marriage" (Schramm, 1979:9). The implication of Schramm's critique is that the quality of marriage as defined by marital satisfaction tends to decline with its duration. This finding needs to be interpreted in the light of the substantial contrasting evidence that the stability of marriage tends to increase with its duration (Booth & White, 1980; Cherlin, 1977; Hicks & Platt, 1970; Mott & Moore, 1979; Nye _et_ _al_., 1973; Lewis & Spanier, 1979). Thus, empirical research indicates that the quality of marriage decreases while the stability of marriage increases with its duration. These findings raise some questions regarding the central proposition of a positive relationship between marital quality and marital stability.

This general observation regarding the proposed theoretical relationship between marital quality and marital stability is further questioned by specific research findings. The basic assumption leads to the assertion that high marital quality will be associated with high marital stability and low marital quality will be associated with low marital stability. Yet a number of researchers (Albrecht & Kunz, 1980; Lenthall, 1977; Lewis & Spanier, 1979; Spanier & Lewis, 1980) indicate that this relationship is never a simple or direct one in that many poorly adjusted marriages with multiple problems remain intact, while some marriages with good adjustment end in divorce. Thus it cannot be assumed that marriages with high quality will also have high stability or that low quality marriages will have low stability. This observation is supported by a study of the correlations of such independent variables as duration of marriage, presence of children, early age at marriage, educational and age homogamy, conservative religious affiliation, religious devoutness, marital satisfaction and income and security with the dependent variable of "thinking about divorce" (Booth & White, 1980). It was found that marital satisfaction (quality) was the only variable that showed a statistically significant relationship with the dependent variable for both husbands and wives. However, they also found that high quality is sometimes associated with low stability, and low quality is frequently associated with high stability.

A specific example of high quality marriages associated with low stability is that of marriages before the birth of children. A considerable body of research (Blood, 1967; Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Burr, 1970; Glenn, 1975; Luckey, 1966; Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Rollins & Feldman, 1970; Pineo, 1961) indicates that the period of highest marital satisfaction is before the birth of the first child. On the other hand, the highest rate of marital dissolution also takes place during this period (Albrecht & Kunz, 1980; Bumpass & Sweet, 1972; Cherlin, 1977; Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980; Kanoy & Miller, 1980; Spanier & Glick, 1981; Thornton, 1977). This relationship is somewhat modified by the observation that most studies do not differentiate between voluntarily childless couples and those postponing childbearing or who are not capable of bearing children, as well as by the failure of many studies to control for relevent variables such as educational level and participation of wives in the labor force, as well as formal religious involvement, which may indirectly contribute to the high dissolution rate of childless couples (Houseknecht, 1979). Another variable which needs to be controlled is the duration of marriage, since most divorces take place during the first few years of marriage, and it may be that marital conflict may contribute to childlessness. While these considerations may mitigate the relationship between high quality and low stability of marriages, this relationship needs to be investigated in greater detail.

Of greater importance is the finding that low quality marriages are frequently associated with high stability (Booth & White, 1980). Specific examples of this relationship are the presence of children, religious devoutness, and couples engaged in marital counseling. The family life cycle literature (Burr, 1970; Rollins & Feldman, 1970; Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Glenn, 1975) indicates that marital satisfaction begins to decline after the birth of the first child and reaches its lowest point during the teenage years. A considerable body of evidence, however, indicates that the presence of children lowers the probability of marital dissolution (Albrecht & Kunz, 1980; Bumpass & Sweet, 1972; Cherlin, 1977; Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980; Spanier & Glick, 1981). Similarly, conservative religious affiliation and religious devoutness are negatively associated with marital dissolution (Booth & White, 1980; Levinger, 1965; Lewis & Spanier, 1979; Nye et al., 1973; Reiss, 1980). The implication of this finding is that religious constraints may prevent separation or divorce even in cases where marital satisfaction or quality is low. One area which has received very little investigation from this perspective is the marital couples who are engaged in marriage counseling. The fact that they are engaged in counseling is an indication both that the quality of their marriage is low and that the stability of their marriage is high. It is significant that the last two decade reviews of marital satisfaction or marital quality (Hicks & Platt, 1970; Spanier & Lewis, 1980) have drawn attention to the need for further research of low quality, high stability marriages. Hicks and Platt (1970:569) suggest that

> the low happiness-high stability dimension of marriage demands research attention. Until very recently it has been an area of research that has been almost entirely overlooked, and the pinning down of the dynamics of this situation is imperative if one is to understand either marital stability or marriage in general.

Considerable research has been devoted to marriages of low quality and low stability which can be designated as unhappy marriages which generally end in divorce. Why is it, however, that a good number of unhappy marriages remain intact? It is precisely in this area that the concept of marital dyadic commitment may make a major contribution to our understanding of marital dynamics and our explanation of the relationship between marital quality and stability.

In addition to the possible contribution of commitment to our understanding of the relationship between marital quality and marital stability, we need to consider the possibility that researchers may be working with an inadequate definition and/or operationalization of both marital quality and marital stability. Sabatelli (1984) argues that marital satisfaction or quality is, at least in part, a function of the subjective expectations of the participants as to what the relationship should be like.

> If no account of the expectation level is taken, as is true of the marital adjustment/quality instruments, then the degree of agreement with some statement, or the assessment of how frequently some marital act occurs, becomes hard to evaluate in terms of its importance to the evaluation of the marriage (Sabatelli,1984:654).

Derived from Lewis and Spanier's inductive theory of marital quality and stability, Sabatelli (1984) presents the Marital Comparison Level Index (MCLI), which is a measure of the respondents' assessments of their relationship in various areas as compared with their expectations.

Similarly, the Lewis and Spanier definition of stability needs to be called into question. This definition is essentially a post hoc measure which defines unstable marriages as those which have broken up. What is really needed is a measure which will permit the assessment of instability among presently intact marriages. Booth _et_ _al_. describe the development of the Marital Instability Index, which was specifically designed for this purpose. This index includes measures of thinking about divorce or separation, as well as engaging in acts intended to bring an end to the marriage (for example, talking with relatives, clergy, counselors, or lawyers about divorce).

E. Theoretical Foundations of Marital Commitment Research

One of the earliest attempts to place marital commitment within some theoretical framework is provided by Rosenblatt (1974, 1977). Although he makes a distinction between commitment as personal dedication and commitment as conformity to external pressures, including the expectations of others, the concept of personal commitment is primary and is defined as "an avowed or inferred intent of a person to maintain a relationship" (Rosenblatt, 1977:73). Using cognitive consistency theory he hypothesizes that commitment is greater when it is acquired publicly, effortfully, and voluntarily. A number of variables contributing to marital commitment are suggested. Thus, commitment is positively associated with public marriage ceremonies and publicity, with the presence of children, with staying with a partner through a severe marital problem, with habitual patterns of interaction, as well as a number of other variables. He suggests that the most significant commitment process "occurs in the natural course of living together. The development of habitual patterns that are related to the behavior of one's spouse makes leaving the relationship difficult" (Rosenblatt, 1974:91). It is interesting to note that while commitment has been defined as primarily personal rather than structural, the examples of commitment mechanisms are primarily structural in nature (e.g., marriage ceremonies, children, habitual patterns). The use of this theoretical construction would require a clearer distinction between personal and structural commitment. Rosenblatt's approach simply regards structural constraints as contributing to personal commitment.

The approach of Jorgensen and Johnson (1980) on divorce liberality is derived from the theoretical frameworks of cognitive dissonance, social learning, and social exchange. Two hypotheses from each of cognitive dissonance theory and social learning theory, and three hypotheses derived from exchange theory are tested with a sample of 240 spouses (120 couples). It was found that none of the three theoretical frameworks provided particularly strong correlates of divorce liberality, but that the social exchange model received the strongest support. The full complement of significant correlates entered in a multiple regression analysis explained only 12% of the variance in the dependent variable. It could be argued that the use of more powerful indicators might provide a better test of the various theoretical constructions.

Social exchange theory provides the theoretical underpinnings of the majority of studies of marital commitment (Albrecht & Kunz, 1980; Blau, 1964; Cook & Emerson, 1978; Edwards & Saunders, 1981; Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980; Levinger, 1965; Lewis & Spanier, 1979; Nye _et al_., 1973; Reiss, 1980), but a number of studies have indicated that the marital relationship requires a modification of economic social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Cook & Emerson, 1978; Leik & Leik, 1977; Levinger, 1979; Murstein _et al_., 1977; Scanzoni, 1979).

Blau (1964) maintains that the social transactions in interpersonal relations are fundamentally altered by deep intrinsic attachments. In such important interpersonal relationships the mutual supply of rewards becomes a means for reaffirming and sustaining the relationship itself, whereas in other social relations the association is a means for obtaining various extrinsic rewards. Thus a basic difference is made between associations that are considered ends-in-themselves by participants (intrinsic associations) and those they consider means for some further ends (extrinsic associations).

> The strong commitment of individuals in interpersonal relations that are of intrinsic importance to them tend to make the continuation of the association a supreme value, for the sake of which they are willing to make great sacrifices... Contributions to the welfare of a loved one are not intended to elicit specific returns in the form of proper extrinsic benefits for each favor done. Instead, they serve as expressive symbols of the individual's firm commitment to the relationship and as inducements for the other to make a corresponding commitment and continue the association (Blau,

1964:35).

Thus extrinsic relationships are marked by a more strict form of social exchange, whereas once social relations have become established individuals may exchange favors in order to express their commitment to the relationship and to encourage commitment on the part of the other.

Similarly, Cook and Emerson (1978) argue that economic exchange theory carries the implicit assumption that exchange partners develop no loyalties or longitudinal commitments to one another because their exchanges are based on the concept of rationality and the perfectly competitive market. To the extent that such loyalties develop, conventional economic theory is compromised in seeking to deal with interpersonal relations. They suggest that reinforcement psychology and much of sociology and social anthropology take the existence of such longitudinal commitments as theoretically expected. "An actor is said to be committed to another actor in the network to the extent that choice of current exchange partner, from among alternative partners, can be predicted from previous partnerships" (Cook & Emerson, 1978:728).

This inability of economic exchange theory to adequately describe the intrinsic nature of intimate interpersonal relationships is further elaborated by a number of authors who suggest various levels of relationship, with differing degrees of exchange at each level (Leik & Leik, 1977; Levinger, 1979; Scanzoni, 1979).

Leik and Leik (1977) suggest four levels of relationship, while the others suggest only three. The first level in their formulation, however, is that of no relationship, which is regarded as the polar opposite of the level of commitment. In this state there is no exchange at all, and consequently all exchange-relevant behaviour involves monitoring alternatives to the current state. This level can thus be disregarded in the present discussion.

The first stage of interpersonal relationships suggested by Leik and Leik (1977) is that of strict exchange which implies a carefully monitored relationship of mutual reward. Because each partner is concerned with securing the best deal available, there is the expectation of a prompt return on any investment, and a constant consideration of alternatives that may prove more profitable. Levinger (1979) refers to this as the formative stage, during which the magnitude of the exchange balance is important. During such early relationships interactions are seen in a limited time frame with the need for immediate reciprocity. Scanzoni (1979) refers to this as the exploration stage in which relationships are tentative, initial, or introductory and such relationships can be easily terminated because they are characterized by minimal investment and interdependence.

The next stage of interpersonal relationships is defined as confidence (Leik & Leik, 1977) or as consolidation (Scanzoni, 1979). Scanzoni suggests that this stage is marked by an expansion of interlocking interest spheres, or goals and objectives which result in mutual bonds. Both Scanzoni and Leik and Leik see the basic ingredient of this stage as trust or faith in the other which enables them to assess alternatives against anticipated long-run returns rather than against current returns. Each partner feels that continued investment in the relationship is warranted because of their confidence or trust that short-term inequities will be balanced out eventually. In addition, this relationship is characterized by the enlargement of the kinds of rewards partners supply one another which leads to increased interdependence.

The third stage of interpersonal relationships is defined as commitment by both Leik and Leik (1977) and Scanzoni (1979). There is some disagreement, however, as to the definition of commitment. On the one hand, interpersonal commitment is defined as "an unwillingness to consider any exchange partner other than that (those) of the current relationship" (Leik & Leik, 1977:301). This definition suggests that if commitment is present, the monitoring of alternatives has ceased. Scanzoni (1979) argues on the other hand, that commitment is advanced precisely because the participants have been able to negotiate an optimum balance of long-range and short-term interests which are beneficial to both the participants and the relationship. This view of commitment avoids the two extremes that alternatives are irrelevant or that alternatives are constantly monitored.

Most persons involved in committed relationships have an awareness of the market without constant testing. Commitment is thus seen as a continuing process rather than a static state in which stability is, by definition, the mark of committed relationships.

Levinger (1979) combines the second and third stages of Leik and Leik and Scanzoni in what he refers to as the plateau stage. While the first or formative stage was marked by careful attention to exchange balance, the plateau stage is marked by a deemphasis of exchange properties in the relationship. It is proposed that "the magnitude of one's perceived exchange balance (or cumulative payoff) in the relationship has an important bearing on one's attention to currently available rewards and costs" (Levinger, 1979:176). The comparison is made to a bank credit balance--if the credit balance is high, deposits and withdrawals can be made without any feeling of tension and with less need for record keeping than when the balance is low. Similarly in a marriage, when the credit balance of rewards is high, withdrawals can be made without fear of seriously disrupting the relationship. It is not that exchange principles cease to function, but rather that certain couples have developed an economy of surplus.

While Scanzoni defines commitment as a permanent process which may be subject to change, Levinger suggests an additional stage of interpersonal relationships which he refers to as a declining stage. In this stage the former economy of surplus has been depleted and consequently partners once again pay close attention to rewards and costs, and carefully monitor the balance. Leik and Leik recognize that some interpersonal commitments are rescinded, but explain such termination by the suggestion that involvements exist for any one person with a variety of partners, but in different areas such as marriage and work. Involvement with a work partner could pose a challenge to the marriage commitment which consists in the (often sudden) realization that an alternative exists, without any necessary monitoring of alternatives. This appears as a rather weak explanation of changes in commitment, and Scanzoni's concept of commitment as a permanent process, or Levinger's concept of declining commitments appear to be better approaches.

A further question is how to deal with deteriorating relationships. Levinger indicates that the traditional strategy was to keep the barriers rigid and to remove all alternatives, while the contemporary strategy is to revive or raise the couple's feeling of mutual attraction, most often and successfully by means of behavior modification. Levinger suggests that attention must be given to the notion that raising a couple's reward/cost ratio is only an intermediate step toward a more permanent peace. A truly satisfying relationship is "one where both partners have stopped counting reinforcements, where both care for the other's pleasure as they do for their own, and where satisfaction is considered less in terms of 'mine' than in terms of 'ours'" (Levinger, 1979:189). This approach regards precise reciprocity as more a sign of unstable than of stable relationships, and efforts toward improving relationships should help clients move beyond the confines of literal exchange.

Some support for these conceptions of the applicability of strict exchange to the marriage relationship is found in Murstein _et al_. (1977). Placing individuals on a continuum according to the degree to which they believe that equity of exchange should characterize their relationships, it was discovered that a high exchange orientation was _negatively_ associated with *marital* adjustment for both men and women, but that a high exchange orientation was _positively_ related to *friendship* intensity among good friends.

The concept of stages of commitment makes important contributions to our understanding of the relationship between commitment and the quality of marriage. First of all, it alerts us to the fact that there may be changes over time in both the quality of marriage and commitment, and that there is no necessary relationship between the two variables. Over a process of time one couple may demonstrate high quality and high commitment, high quality and low commitment, low quality and high commitment, and low quality and low commitment in their relationship. Secondly, the discussion sensitizes us to the possibility that commitment is much more than simply an extraneous, static variable that intervenes between marital quality and marital stability. Rather, commitment should be seen as in a state of flux as a result of the process of the relationship, and there may be a reciprocal relationship between marital quality and commitment.

A more recent study (Sabatelli & Cecil-Pigo, 1985), building upon the theoretical insights of the exchange perspective, examines the interaction between several indicators of relational interdependence and relational commitment in a sample of 301 married individuals, including 132 couples. Three measures of relational interdependence are utilized in this study. The first is a measure of the individual's evaluation of the outcomes derived from his/her relationship in comparison with what is expected (Marital Comparison Level Index). The second is the relational equity scale which examines the degree to which individuals feel that the outcomes they derive from their marital relationships are proportionate to their investments in the relationship. The third measure is a scale measuring barriers to marital dissolution, including both internal constraints (moral proscriptions against divorce and feelings of obligation to the marital bond and dependent children) and external constraints (family and social pressures, and loss of marital and economic status). The measure of relational commitment was also derived from the social exchange perspective, and reflects both the degree of cohesion felt in the relationship, as well as the degree to which alternatives to the marital relationship are monitored.

The findings suggest that the indicators of relational interdependence are positively associated with the commitment measures. Regression analyses for both husbands and wives indicate that the greatest percentage of the variance in commitment scores is accounted for by the perception of relational equity, and a significant amount of the variance is accounted for by the overall assessment of outcomes compared to expectations (marital satisfaction).

This study suggests that the exchange perspective offers valid insights into the relationship between indicators of marital quality and marital commitment.

This chapter reviewed the general context within which research on marital commitment has taken place, the specific formulations of marital commitment, and the empirical studies of marital commitment and/or related concepts. While accepting the assumption of Lewis and Spanier (1979) that the single most important predictor of marital stability is marital quality, the present study argues that the concept of marital commitment makes a major contribution to our understanding of the relationship between quality and stability.

The next chapter examines the antecedents and/or correlates of dyadic commitment which were discovered by an examination of the available empirical research. Twenty-seven first-order propositions are developed, of which twenty-one can be tested by the data. These correlates are summarized by four general propositions drawn from the theoretical models discussed in this chapter.

III. CORRELATES OF MARITAL COMMITMENT

Comparatively few studies have attempted to discover the antecedents and/or correlates of marital commitment. Those that have provided a theoretical construction of such correlates (Clayton, 1975; Edwards & Saunders,1981; Reiss, 1980) have provided no empirical verification of the postulated relationships. On the other hand, empirical studies of marital commitment (Johnson, 1973,1978; Leik & Leik, 1977; Leik et al., 1978) make no attempt to spell out the theoretical antecedents of such commitment.

The definition of commitment utilized in this study is based on Johnson's differentiation between personal and structural commitment. Personal commitment is defined as a dedication or sense of determination to continue a relationship over an extended period of time despite adversity or temptations to deviate. Structural commitment is defined as events or conditions, or external constraints to continue a relationship once it has been initiated, regardless of the individual's personal commitment to it.

Utilizing the theory building technique employed by Nye et al.(1973) and Lewis and Spanier (1979) as a model, the present study examined the empirical research which is directly or indirectly related to this definition of commitment. This examination yielded a total of 27 first-order propositions related to marital commitment. Utilizing the three studies which have presented specific theoretical models of marital commitment (Clayton, 1975;

Edwards & Saunders, 1981; Reiss, 1980) as a guide, the twenty-seven specific propositions were stated in the form of four general propositions:

1. Predisposing background characteristics are related to personal commitment.
2. The total interaction reward/tension balance within a marriage is related to personal commitment.
3. Normative constraints are related to structural commitment.
4. External constraints on marriage relationships are related to structural commitment.

The above hypothesized relationships, together with the first-order propositions on which they are based, are examined in terms of their empirical support in the following sections.

It needs to be kept in mind that there is very little empirical research dealing directly with dyadic commitment. Consequently much of this chapter reports the research on the correlates of marital stability, and examines the possible relationships of these correlates with marital commitment. The question of cause is not at issue in this examination. It is hoped that this examination will help to clarify the relationships of these correlates with marital quality and marital commitment.

A. Predisposing Background Characteristics

Relative premarital heterogeneity reminds us that the spousal relationship is comprised by two persons from different backgrounds, and discrepancy between individual background characteristics contributes to marital instability, and consequently "background differences should be viewed as predisposing factors, standing as surrogate indicators of variations in socialization experiences encountered in the family of orientation" (Edwards & Saunders, 1981:382). A number of premarital determinants of marital quality are isolated in the Lewis and Spanier (1979) model, which are regarded as social and personal resources for adequate marital role functioning. Clayton (1975) likewise recognizes the contribution of predisposing biographical events to marital stability. In addition to the importance placed upon predisposing background characteristics by theoretical models of marital commitment, a substantial body of empirical evidence supports the contribution of background events to marital commitment. Ten propositions are isolated from the research literature dealing with this area, of which seven are able to be tested by the data.

A substantial body of research supports the finding that the greater the difference in ages between spouses, the more likely the marriage will end in divorce. Levinger (1965) suggests that similarity of age between spouses is one of the factors contributing to attraction within marriage. Other reviews of empirical research (Lewis & Spanier, 1979; Nye et al., 1973) provide further documentation of this finding. Bumpass and Sweet (1972) found that instability was higher than expected when age differences were large, and particularly when wives were older than their husbands. A more specific finding (Cherlin, 1977) is that where wives were five or more years older than their husbands or nine or more years younger, the probability of marital dissolution was sharply higher. Booth and White (1980) found only weak relations between age homogamy and "thinking about divorce," but this study does not deal with dissolved marriages.

> Proposition 1. Age differences between spouses are inversely related to marital commitment.

A widely supported research finding is that age at first marriage is inversely related to marital dissolution (Booth & White, 1980; Bumpass & Sweet, 1972; Coombs & Zumeta, 1970; Mott & Moore, 1979; Norton & Glick, 1976; Spanier & Glick, 1981; Thornton, 1978). Furstenberg (1976) argues that women who marry at early ages tend to be from the lower class, pregnant at the time of marriage, and to marry lower-status husbands. Bumpass and Sweet (1972), however, report very little difference between unadjusted rates of marital disruption and those adjusted for duration of marriage and other variables. They conclude that the lower stability of early marriages is not due simply to low education, premarital pregnancy, religious affiliation, parental marital stability, or husband's marital history. Spanier and Glick (1981) report that women who marry at ages 14 to 17 are twice as likely to divorce as women who marry at ages 18 or 19, and three times as likely to divorce as those who marry at ages 20 to 24. Men who marry in their teens are twice as likely to divorce as men who marry at ages 20 to 24, and more than twice as likely to divorce as men who marry at ages 25 to 29. Regardless of the woman's educational level, those who marry youngest are most likely to divorce or separate. An interesting finding is that the tendency toward marital disruption among those who married at early ages is moderated when they are able to report a relatively high income level at the survey date (Spanier & Glick, 1981). This suggests that a higher income tends to offset the risks of early marriage. Lee (1977), while confirming a positive and statistically significant association between age at marriage and marital satisfaction, argues that this relationship is not sufficiently strong to account for the major proportion of the relationship between age at marriage and divorce. He suggests as a possible explanation that those who marry young are more aware of their excellent chances for remarriage in the event of divorce, and are thus less willing to accept high levels of dissatisfaction in their current marriages than are those who marry at a later age. He further suggests that those who marry at an early age are more likely to experience lower marital satisfaction because they lack adequate preparation for marital role performance.

Booth & Edwards (1985) assess the impact of poor role performance, the respondent's alternatives to the present marriage, and the presence of external pressures to remain married on the relationship between early marriage and marital instability. The only factor with a consistent and discernible effect on this relationship is role performance. An item-by-item analysis of the role performance scales indicates that the spouse's unfaithfulness was the largest source of dissatisfaction.

> Proposition 2. Age at first marriage is positively related to marital commitment.

Some of the earlier research (Levinger, 1965; Nye _et al_., 1973) strongly suggested that spousal differences in educational level were related to marital dissolution. This finding does not receive the same degree of support in later research. Booth and White (1980), for instance, find only a weak correlation between educational homogamy and thinking about divorce, but they do indicate that both men and women whose spouses are much less educated than themselves are substantially less likely to be considering divorce. Similarly, the study of Bumpass and Sweet (1972) fails to find general support for the association between educational heterogamy and instability, but large differences do create instability. Scanzoni (1968) found that among dissolved marriages in the manual working category, wives tended to complete more education than their husbands.

> Proposition 3. Large spousal differences in educational level are inversely related to marital commitment, particularly when the female has a higher educational level than the male.

An interesting finding related to the level of education of women is reported by Houseknecht and Spanier (1980). While finding the usual general inverse relationship between educational status and marital disruption, a major exception is found for females with 5 or more years of college. While those with 4 years of college had the lowest disruption rate, those with 5 or more years had one of the highest disruption rates. In a somewhat broader sample Spanier and Glick (1981) also report that women with graduate school training have much more marital instability than those who ended their education after four years of college. Houseknecht and Spanier suggest four possible explanations for the higher disruption rates: (1) Females with five or more years of education beyond high school include a higher proportion of non-whites than those who complete 4 years, and these are more apt to be divorced or separated than whites. Among both white and black women at higher educational levels, a significant number must either marry down (hypogamy) or equally (homogamy). Since earnings are related to education, males in this situation might face identity problems. (2) The independent earning power which is provided by higher education makes it easier to withdraw from a particular marriage since the wife is not dependent on her husband's income. (3) The high level of commitment to her career necessitated by the longer years of training may conflict with commitment to the marriage and family. (4) The two partners' involvement in different vocational systems creates two different reference groups rather than shared social relationships. In a cross-cultural study, it was found that societies with higher female status are also more likely to have higher divorce rates (Pearson & Hendrix, 1979).

> Proposition 4. Among women, graduate school education is inversely related to marital commitment.

Norton and Glick (1976) suggest that the changing roles of women as they apply to family living will continue to require adaptation and resocialization, resulting in continued conflict in marriage. At the same time, the broadening of work-and-marriage experience creates among women a greater self-perception as players of multiple roles which may create marital disruption. The employment of women, with their resulting independent income, results in both increased autonomy and decreased dependence on husbands, which may be one of the factors in increased marital dissolution (Albrecht & Kunz, 1980; Espenshade, 1979; Hannon et al., 1977; Holman, 1981; Houseknecht & Spanier, 1980; Levinger, 1965; Mott & Moore, 1979; Pearson & Hendrix, 1979; Schoen & Urton, 1979). Scanzoni (1968) finds it is not so much the employment of the wife which creates the problem, but rather the attitude of the husband to his wife's employment. The majority of wives from dissolved marriages experienced the disapproval of their husbands toward their employment. This disapproval is based on the perception of the husband that his wife's working reflects negatively on his ability as the family provider. In contrast, wives from existing marriages experienced the approval of their husbands toward their employment. Lewis and Spanier (1979) find evidence that marital quality is affected by both the wife's satisfaction with her employment, as well as the husband's approval of his wife's employment. Yankelovich (1981) maintains on the basis of extensive survey research that what is new is not the fact of women working, but its cultural meaning. He suggests that the cultural meaning of a woman working outside the home has shifted subtly from an act which diminishes the husband's manliness, to one which enhances the woman's status without adversely affecting the man. He also finds that whereas in the past it was mainly blue-collar women who worked for pay, it is now upper-middle class women who increasingly work outside of the home. Norton and Glick (1976) indicate that divorced women with relatively high incomes tend to delay remarriage or to remain unmarried. Those with relatively low incomes, in contrast, are likely to remarry within a short period of time. This finding suggests that the availability of an adequate income may create a greater sense of independence, as well as increasing the feasibility of divorce.

> Proposition 5. Wife employment is inversely related to marital commitment.

A consistent finding of the research is that religious homogamy is positively related to marital stability. The major earlier reviews of literature (Levinger, 1965; Lewis & Spanier, 1979; Nye _et_ _al_., 1973) report a consistent relationship between religious heterogamy and divorce. Jorgensen and Johnson (1980) report moderate support for the relationship between religious heterogamy and divorce liberality in their sample as a whole. When the sample is broken down by sex, the relationship remains significant for both husbands and wives, but is somewhat stronger for husbands. Bumpass and Sweet (1972) report that in intra-faith marriages, Jewish couples have the lowest levels of instability, Protestant couples the highest, with Catholics at an intermediate level. Protestant-Catholic marriages were found to be less stable than religiously homogamous marriages. No general support was found for higher instability for interdenominational marriages among Protestants, except that out-marriages involving fundamentalists were over ten percentage points more unstable than marriages between fundamentalists.

Heaton (1984), using log-linear models to test the relationship between religious homogamy and marital satisfaction, finds that homogamous marriages are more satisfying. When controlling for religious participation, however, the association between homogamy and satisfaction drops to virtually zero. Heaton concludes that patterns of religious involvement apparently underlie the high level of marital satisfaction found in religiously homogamous marriages.

> Proposition 6. Religious homogamy is positively related to marital commitment.

The review of research literature outlining the empirical generalization that socioeconomic rewards in marriage, such as income, education, and occupational prestige, are positively and linearly associated with adjustment and stability in marriage yielded inconsistent results. Research preceding the early 1970's generally supported this proposition, but later research of higher methodological quality has caused this relationship to be questioned (Jorgensen, 1979). Norton and Glick (1976) have also concluded that socioeconomic variables have become less discriminating in explaining marital dissolution. They indicate that between 1960 and 1970 there tended to be a convergence of divorces among educational, occupational, and income groups, that is, there were fewer differences between the high and low groups. The percentage of divorced upper status women was increasing more slowly than the average, and hence converging with the rate for other women. The percentage of upper status men being divorced was converging with that for other men by increasing more rapidly. On the other hand, in one of the largest survey samples conducted in the United States (Spanier & Glick, 1981), it was discovered that men and women with college degrees have especially high levels of marital stability; those with less than high school have especially low levels of marital stability. Similarly, it was found that men and women with low family incomes at the survey date had the greatest probability of marital disruption. It needs to be recognized that the findings regarding the impact of socioeconomic indicators on marital commitment are, at best, somewhat inconsistent. Any findings in this area will need to be carefully interpreted and subject to a number of controls. Socioeconomic indicators in the present analysis are income, education, and occupational prestige. For ease of analysis, each of these will be examined separately.

The findings regarding the possible relationship of income and marital dissolution are inconsistent and subject to a number of conditions. A number of studies have found that couples whose marriages were dissolved had relatively lower incomes than those who stayed married (Coombs & Zumeta, 1970; Cutright, 1971; Levinger, 1965; Norton & Glick, 1976; Spanier & Glick, 1981). Other studies found little or no relationship between income and marital dissolution (Booth & White, 1980; Galligan & Bahr, 1978; Glenn & Weaver, 1978; Jorgensen, 1979; Mott & Moore, 1979; Scanzoni, 1978). Several conditions related to income were found to be associated with marital stability. Some have found that marital dissolution was related to a lack of assets rather than objective level of income (Coombs & Zumeta, 1970; Cutright, 1971; Levinger, 1965; Galligan &

Bahr, 1978; Ross & Sawhill, 1975). Others have found that marital dissolution was more related to the subjective perception of wives concerning the adequacy of family incomes rather than objective income (Coombs & Zumeta, 1970; Scanzoni, 1968), having accumulated debts (Mott & Moore, 1979) or to a history of unemployment (Coombs & Zumeta, 1970). Despite the fact that the findings are somewhat inconsistent and qualified by a number of conditions, the evidence for the relationship between level of income and marital commitment should be subjected to a further empirical test, taking into consideration some of the conditions which have been isolated in the literature.

> Proposition 7a. Level of income is positively related to marital commitment.

The findings regarding the relationship between level of education and marital dissolution are somewhat more consistent than those for level of income. Glenn and Weaver (1978) found no relationship between level of education and marital happiness (marital quality), but since none of their independent variables were strongly related to the dependent variable, they indicate that their global measure of happiness may be inadequate, or that an intervening variable of 'propensity to end an unsatisfactory marriage' is affecting the relationship. Studies are consistent in their finding that marital dissolution decreased as level of education increased (Bumpass & Sweet, 1972; Coombs & Zumeta, 1972; Galligan & Bahr, 1978; Levinger, 1965; Mott & Moore, 1979; Norton & Glick, 1976; Spanier & Glick, 1981; Thornton, 1978). This positive relation between level of education and marital stability persists even when controlling for duration of marriage (Bumpass & Sweet, 1972), economic correlates of education (Mott & Moore, 1979), or race, religion, and age (Thornton, 1978). On the other hand, Bumpass and Sweet (1972) found the relation to be greatly attenuated when age at marriage was controlled. The negative relationship between level of education and marital dissolution was particularly strong for those with an incomplete high school education (Coombs & Zumeta, 1972; Norton & Glick, 1976; Spanier & Glick, 1981).

> Proposition 7b. Level of education is positively related to marital commitment.

The major reviews of earlier research (Levinger, 1965; Lewis & Spanier, 1979) report significant relationships between occupational prestige and marital dissolution. Glenn & Weaver (1978) find no relationship between occupational prestige and their global measure of marital happiness. On the other hand, Coombs and Zumeta (1972) found that lower occupational levels clearly characterized marriages which had been dissolved during the five-year study, with 75% of husbands in dissolved marriages being found in blue-collar jobs compared to 50% of husbands in the still-married group. It was also found that about 50% of husbands in disrupted marriages were at a lower occupational level then their wife's father, compared to 25% of husbands in intact marriages. Scanzoni (1968) suggests that an important factor in determining the effects of occupational prestige is a measurement of the wife's satisfaction with her husband's job. Among existing marriages it was found that the wife felt that her husband's job carried an adequate level of prestige, and that it supplied the kind of income and security which were necessary to meet the family lifestyle aspirations of the wife. Among the manual dissolved group, the wife felt her husband's job did not provide the prestige or lifestyle desired by the wife (i.e., dissatisfaction is due to the husband's under-performance). Among nonmanual dissolved marriages, wife dissatisfaction was due to the fact that her husband spent so much time in the performance of occupational roles that he was not able (according to her perception) to perform his marital roles adequately (i.e., dissatisfaction is due to the husband's over-performance).

> Proposition 7c. Level of occupation is positively related to marital commitment.

In summary, socioeconomic indicators have become less discriminating in explaining marital dissolution (Jorgensen, 1979; Norton & Glick, 1976). The review of the effects of income, education, and occupational prestige indicates substantial evidence of possible relationships between socioeconomic variables and commitment to marriage. These possible relations need further empirical tests, taking account of the controls suggested in the research literature.

> Proposition 7. Socioeconomic status is positively related to marital commitment.

The above seven propositions summarize the prospective relationships expected to be found between predisposing background characteristics and marital commitment which can be tested by available data. Three additional propositions are formulated which relate predisposing background characteristics and marital commitment, but they cannot be tested by available data, and so are presented only for the sake of information.

While increased income has generally been found to be positively related to increased marital stability, one of the interesting exceptions which has received considerable research attention is the finding that among low-income families the reception of welfare assistance is related to marital dissolution. Conflicting evidence exists for this postulated relationship: Cutright and Scanzoni (1973) reported that AFDC levels in 1950, 1960, and 1970 had not contributed to family instability whereas Honig (1973) predicted that, other things being equal, an AFDC stipend increase of 10% would result in an increase of 20% for whites and 14% for non-whites in female-headed families (cited in Price Bonham & Balswick, 1980:960). Similarly, using a sample of over 1300 married females from the National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experience who were interviewed annually over a five-year period, Galligan and Bahr (1978) conclude that direct income supplements had little effect on marital dissolution. In contrast, Bahr (1979) found that low-income whites who received AFDC, food stamps, or other public assistance had much higher marital dissolution rates than those not receiving any welfare, although this was not true for low-income blacks. In addition, for both low-income whites and blacks, the remarriage rate for divorced females was three times greater among non-AFDC than among AFDC recipients. Bahr argues that for low-income families, AFDC increases the economic rewards of an alternative to the existing marriage. Draper (1981) criticizes Bahr's conclusions on methodological grounds, and suggests that welfare aid may be the consequence, rather than the cause, of desertion and divorce. Using a cross-lagged panel correlation technique to reanalyze the data, he concludes that correlations leading from marital stability to welfare were generally larger than the ones leading from welfare to marital stability. Bahr (1981) replies to Draper's criticisms, that Draper failed to control for relevant variables such as income, race, and education. Furthermore, he did not determine both welfare and marital status during Time 1 with the result that correlations between welfare status at Time 1 and marital status at Time 2 may have been confounded by the remarriage rate of divorced females during the interval between measures.

A somewhat different approach to this problem is provided by Hannon et al. (1977, 1978) in their analysis of the effects of the Seattle and Denver Income Maintenance Experiments on marital dissolution and remarriage. Families were assigned randomly to three- and five-year experimental treatments with approximately 44% of the families being assigned to the control condition. A basic income floor is established by simple government transfer payments which avoid the bureaucratic procedures and stigma of the welfare system. Three different support levels were established, ($3,800 support, $4,800 support, and $5,600 support) with the lowest support level being similar in financial terms to the combination of AFDC and food stamps. The program differs from AFDC in that the grant is received even if the male family head is employed, and the income guarantee exists for all members of the family even after a family breaks up. It was concluded that overall, women on income maintenance have higher rates of marital dissolution than comparable controls, but the effects are particularly strong for the low and medium levels of support. Hannon et al. (1977) suggest the operation of income and independence effects to explain this unexpected finding. The income effect (raising the level of family income) lowers the rate of marital dissolution. The independence effect (lowering the dependence of partners upon the marriage) increases the rate of dissolution. Each of the support levels induces a strong independence effect by reducing the economic dependence of the more dependent partner (usually the wife) on the marriage, but only the high support program generates an income effect strong enough to offset the independence effect. Thus, a wife's high wage employment or access to income independent of her husband would contribute to independence effects. On the other hand, high earnings of the husband or substantial personal asset income would be classified as income effects, and contribute to stability since they would be lost to the wife upon dissolution of the marriage. Thus welfare payments provide sufficient independent income to the wife to produce independence effects, and dissolution of the marriage does not create any substantial drop in income.

> Proposition: Among low-income families, the reception of welfare assistance is inversely related to marital commitment.

A predisposing background characteristic which is frequently associated with marital stability is rural/urban family background, with rural background being associated with higher marital stability. Cutright (1971) found consistently higher stability of marriages among farmers and farm managers which was not related to either education or income. Bumpass and Sweet (1972) indicate that with all other factors controlled, women from rural backgrounds have a lower rate of marital dissolution. The research review of others (Clayton, 1975; Nye et al., 1973) supports the positive relationship between rural family background and marital stability. Levinger (1965) suggests that one of the reasons for this finding is the fact that rural family background may be associated with greater community stigma associated with marital dissolution. It may also be, however, that rural family background is associated with both stronger kinship ties and with the common social affiliations of spouses. These factors would need to be controlled in seeking to discover the independent effects of rural family background.

Proposition: Rural family background is positively related to marital commitment.

A number of studies have found significant relationships between premarital pregnancy and/or illegitimate births and marital dissolution. Nye et al. (1973) report that a woman who is pregnant before marriage is more likely to end her marriage in divorce. Bumpass and Sweet, (1972) utilizing data from the 1970 National Fertility Study, and controlling for duration of marriage, found that the level of marital disruption for women whose first child was born before they were married, is 11 points higher than for women with postmarital conceptions. Those women who were premaritally pregnant had 5 points greater likelihood of marital disruption than those who had conceived postmaritally. Bumpass and Sweet report that when age at marriage and educational level are controlled, premaritally pregnant women have disruption rates only 2 points higher than those with postmarital conceptions, but those with illegitimate births are substantially higher. After having followed a sample of over 1,300 married women for 5 years, Coombs and Zumeta (1970) report that 41% of those whose marriages were dissolved during this period were pregnant at marriage (compared to 18% of intact marriages). Even after 4 children had been born, the premaritally pregnant still had a higher dissolution rate (9.4%) than those not premaritally pregnant (3.3%). In a five-year longitudinal study on the social consequences of unplanned parenthood, Furstenberg (1976) collected information on the marital careers of 203 women who became premaritally pregnant in their early teens, and 90 of their classmates. He found that 50% of the marriages in which the wife was premaritally pregnant broke up within 4 years. Price-Bonham and Balswick (1980) report a similar study by Sauber and Corrigan (1970) which found that 50% of the women in their New York study who were premaritally pregnant lived with their husbands no more than five years after marriage.

> Proposition: Illegitimate births and/or premarital pregnancy are inversely related to marital commitment.

B. Total Interaction Reward/Tension Balance

As indicated earlier, much of the research on marital commitment and/or marital stability lacks a clear theoretical foundation. A growing body of research in the broad field of marital interaction has increasingly utilized the social exchange theoretical framework. This approach also provides the theoretical foundation of the majority of studies of marital commitment (Albrecht & Kunz, 1980; Blau, 1964; Cook & Emerson, 1978; Edwards & Saunders, 1981; Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980; Levinger, 1965; Lewis & Spanier, 1979; Nye _et_ _al_., 1973; Reiss, 1980). This body of research has placed primary importance on the concept of the reward/cost ratio in human interaction. Levinger's key argument is that the strength of the marital relationship would be a direct function of the attractions within and barriers around the marriage, and an inverse function of such attractions and barriers from other relationships" (1965:19). Lewis and Spanier (1979) document a large number of studies which support the proposition that the greater the rewards from spousal interaction, the greater the marital quality and hence the greater the marital stability. Reiss (1980) suggests that marital commitment is partially the result of interaction reward-tension balance, and that there is no necessary correlation between rewards and tensions. Thus, if a marriage is high on tensions, it does not automatically follow that it will be low on rewards, or vice versa. Similarly, Argyle & Furnham (1983) find that satisfaction and conflict are compatible with each other, and the closer the relationship, the more there is of both. Spouses, for example, tend to be high on both satisfaction and conflict, whereas neighbours tend to be low on both. Five propositions support the relationship between total interaction reward tension balance and marital commitment.

From the perspective of rewards, marital satisfaction should be consistently related in a positive manner to marital commitment. In their study of the relationships between a number of independent variables and the dependent variable of "thinking about divorce", Booth and White (1980) found that marital satisfaction is the only variable whose correlation with thinking about divorce is statistically significant for both husbands and wives. In a similar study of divorce liberality which measured spouses' attitudes toward divorce, Jorgensen and Johnson (1980) found an inverse relationship between marital satisfaction and divorce liberality which was significant for all spouses, but when the sample was segregated by sex the relationships held at a significant level only for husbands. Levinger (1965) suggests that affectional rewards are strong sources of attraction to the marriage, and consequently marital satisfaction is an important determinant of marital bonds or marital commitment. Lewis and Spanier (1979) document the relationship between rewards from spousal interaction and marital quality. Reiss (1980) suggests that the balance between rewards and tensions is one of the key factors in the determination of marital commitment.

> Proposition 8. Marital satisfaction is positively related to marital commitment.

Growing concern is expressed by a number of researchers regarding the negative effects of individualism upon marital commitment. It is suggested that the "emphasis in our era on individual rights, personal growth and self awareness seems to map out the road to happiness via the route of narcissistic 'selfism'" (Ammons & Stinnett, 1980:39). Nye (1978) provides a wide-ranging summary of the developments leading to the contemporary emphasis on individualism and personal self-autonomy which he associates with the increased alienation and resulting destructive trends within our society. Cogswell (1975) suggests that traditional family forms have emphasized constraints whereas members of variant family forms emphasize opportunities and seldom consider constraints. She emphasizes that any close interpersonal relationship which is more than fleeting or temporary imposes some constraints on each partner, and that ultimately "for all to have 'the good life', individuals in close relationships must achieve a delicate balance between opportunities and constraints" (Cogswell, 1975:400). Glasser and Glasser (1977) argue that individualism and hedonism are two values which have high priorities in our society, and that these values often overshadow family and community responsibilities. While emphasizing that they are not opposed to personal growth, the authors maintain that the interdependence of family members allows for maximum opportunities for the personal growth of each. Levinger suggests that the "success of a marriage is now often viewed less in terms of its perpetuity than its furtherment of both spouses' personal potential" (1976:44). This emphasis has an important effect on marital commitment. "In some quarters today, there is a yearning for ways to escape traditional forms of interpersonal commmitment, such as marriage. Yet it is hard to conceive of a relationship that has both depth and continuity without some form of commitment" (Levinger, 1977:10). Larson (1979) indicates that marriage has suffered in the culture of ego gratification, and emphasizes that while there is considerable merit in self discovery, such suppositions are not inherently compatible with ongoing and fulfilling interpersonal relationships with others. Contemporary marriage counseling has heavily emphasized the improvement of communication skills and intimacy.

> Unhappily, it has not been demonstrated that these skills are as related to achieving stability as they are to achieving some elusive style of intimacy which we value. I would go so far as to suggest that we know almost nothing about teaching couples to commit well, to hang in when they are upset. On the contrary, we teach them not to put up with any garbage, to be assertive in demanding that their own needs be met. We do not teach sacrifice or devotion to duty or any of the things which are related on the face of it to marital stability and much that is related to personal growth and achieving a full range of options and, in short, to marital instability (Broderick, 1977:272-3).

In their study of couple strains in communal households Jaffe and Kanter (1976) argue that communal households can be structurally conducive contexts for the weakening of couple bonds. One of the factors which operates is that of systemic strain which is a function of incongruence between communal and traditional role relations. The community pushes for individuation rather than couple unity, which may increase the expression of differences and may ultimately lead to marital breakdown. The impact of such an emphasis on individualism is summarized by the following comments:

> Selfism as a marital frame of reference lessens each partner's sense of responsibility for the success of the relationship and promotes moving into and out of marriage. Specifically, from a social exchange perspective, selfism increases the anticipated rewards from the relationship while reducing each partner's willingness to make necessary investments. Decreased investments on the part of one spouse decrease the likelihood of their mate receiving the rewards they deem desireable, resulting in marital instability (Ammons & Stinnett, 1980:39).

The present review has not considered research which deals with the more positive aspects of self-assertion in the negotiation of conflict (Bach & Wyden, 1968; Dayringer, 1967; Ellis, 1976; L'Abate, 1977). It is simply assumed that failure of the data to support the present proposition would constitute at least indirect support for the values of self-assertion, or that support of the present proposition would result in rejection of the alternative.

> Proposition 9. Individualism is inversely related to marital commitment.

The phenomenon of family violence received relatively little research attention during the decade of the sixties, but has become increasingly visible as a social and family issue during the past decade (Gelles, 1980). Because research dealing with family violence is more recent, attention has been focused on problems of definition, sampling, and measurement, rather than on the effects of violence on marital interaction. Nevertheless, there is a growing body of research which indicates that marital violence tends to be associated with a greater proneness to dissolve the marriage (Booth & White, 1980; Gelles, 1976, 1980; Gelles & Straus, 1979; O'Brien, 1971; Straus, 1974, 1979).

> Proposition 10. Marital violence is inversely related to marital commitment.

The importance of accurate perception in positive family interaction has been discussed by a number of researchers (Laing, Phillipson & Lee, 1966; Larson, 1974, 1975; Luckey, 1960). While there is considerable agreement on the principle that studies of the family should not be based on the responses of one family member alone, very few studies actually seek to measure the impact of intra-family response variations on accurate insights into family interaction (Larson, 1974). An even more difficult area to measure is that of interpersonal perceptions. Larson (1975) approaches this theoretical concern through the development of three levels of perception. LEVEL I perceptions simply represent the views of each individual family member, and differences in response can be easily measured. LEVEL II perceptions are defined as one family member's perception of what another family member will respond to a particular issue, e.g., "my wife will say that divorce laws should be tougher." This prediction of the wife's response can then be compared to the actual response to measure the accuracy of the husband's perception. LEVEL III perception reflects whether one is aware of the knowledge of other family members, e.g., "my husband will say that I will say that divorce laws should be tougher." Accurate interpersonal perception within the family should lead to more satisfactory family interaction, whereas inaccurate interpersonal perceptions can be expected to create more frequent conflicts in marital interaction.

> Proposition 11. The accuracy of interpersonal perception is positively related to marital commitment.

In addition to the four propositions which relate total interaction reward/tension balance to marital commitment and which can be tested by the data, an additional proposition in this area cannot be tested. A number of research studies document the finding that satisfactory sexual relationships contribute to greater marital quality, or more positive marital interaction (Levinger, 1965; Lewis & Spanier, 1979; Nye _et al_., 1973). In a study of the key characteristics which determined vital marital relationships, Ammons and Stinnett (1980) found that sex plays a central and profoundly important role. Moderately high to very high needs for sexual activity were reported by 85.5% of the respondents who experienced a vital marriage. It is suggested that sex is viewed by these couples as an important component of their overall interpersonal relationship, and as one means of sustaining dynamic intimacy.

> Proposition: Satisfactory sexual relationships are positively related to marital commitment.

C. Normative Constraints

Normative constraints are not easily separated from structural constraints, and Reiss (1980) is the only major theoretical approach which makes this differentiation. He argues that normative constraints make a contribution to marital commitment which is independent from structural constraints. Thus, for example, the belief that marriage is for life and that divorce and remarriage are unacceptable alternatives, would act as a normative constraint to increase marital commitment in and of itself, regardless of such structural constraints as the strictness of divorce laws or the presence of children in the family. The literature has isolated a number of factors which may act as normative constraints upon marital commitment.

The existence of common social affiliations for both husband and wife has been consistently associated with the maintenance of marital bonds. A study of divorce in 62 primitive societies revealed that the incidence of divorce is low when spouses maintain predominantly common affiliations, but it is high when they maintain predominantly separate affiliations. It is concluded that common affiliations create behavior and expectations that are governed by the same norm and value sets (Ackerman, 1963). Levinger (1965) suggests that primary group affiliations act as a source of barrier strength against dissolution of the marriage, and Nye et al. (1973) indicate that when spouses maintain predominantly separate affiliations there is more likelihood of divorce. Lewis and Spanier (1979) cite evidence that the greater the network of a couple's friends, and the more the marriage is approved by friends and relatives, and the greater the participation by the couple within the community, the higher will be their marital quality and stability. Reiss (1980) argues that marital commitment is determined by the degree to which significant others, like kin and friends, define the couple as possessing an ideal or normatively prescribed marital relationship. Scanzoni (1968) reports a considerable polarization of friends among dissolved marriages, and a high degree of conjunctive friendships among existing marriages. Similarly, Houseknecht and Spanier (1980) hypothesize that one of the explanations for the instability of the marriages of graduate school women is a result of the partners' involvement in different vocational systems which gives rise to nonshared social support systems. In a study of provincial variations in divorce rates (Makabe, 1980) it was discovered that the highest correlation with divorce rates is the percentage of migrants (.924), which explains 85% of the total variance. It is suggested that provinces having a large number of migrants will be characterized by a low degree of social integration, with the result that there are fewer social sanctions against divorce. This finding receives confirmation in a study (Trovato, 1986) which provides additional support for the association between migration and the provincial divorce rate in Canada. This migration effect is seen as representing the influence of rapid social change, which weakens traditional familism values, and places more emphasis on the development of an ideology of individualism. Holman (1981) examines the consistent finding of a positive linear relationship between a couple's involvement in social networks and marital stability and, on the basis of empirical data, argues that this relationship is curvilinear in nature, with the highest marital quality being found at some intermediate level of involvement, and the lowest at either extreme of involvement. Three key indicators of social network involvement (with kin, with friends, and with voluntary organizations) are found to display the suggested curvilinear relationship.

Proposition 12. Common social affiliations of spouses are positively related to marital commitment.

Proposition 13. Strong kinship ties are positively related to marital commitment.

Based on cognitive dissonance theory, it is predicted that the person who has been divorced at least once will be more liberal in attitudes toward divorce in general in order for attitudes to be congruent with past behavior. This prediction is only weakly supported in a sample of 240 spouses (Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980). Somewhat stronger support for this predicted relationship is reported by Bumpass and Sweet (1972) in their finding that marriages where the first husband of a woman was previously married were considerably less stable than those in which both husband and wife were married for the first time. In a four-year longitudinal study Cherlin (1977) reports that 3 percent of first marriages, 11 percent of second marriages, and 28 percent of third and fourth marriages dissolved during the four years of the study. This pattern remained the same after controlling for other variables, but the coefficient for second marriages was not significant at the 5 percent level. He concludes that, other things being equal, "divorce or separation was much more likely for women in the panel who were in third or fourth marriages and was slightly more likely in second marriages than in first marriages" (Cherlin, 1977:271). In an earlier study, Glick and Norton (1971) also reported that those who were married three or more times were more likely to divorce again than those married once or twice.

> Proposition 14. Previous divorce is inversely related to marital commitment.

The impact of religious beliefs upon marital commitment has been suggested by Reiss (1980) as a possible normative constraint. Thus if one believes that marriage is "until death do you part" and that divorce and remarriage are unacceptable under any or most conditions, this would tend to increase the commitment to remain in a present marriage despite the presence of conflict. Considerable research has been reported on the impact of religious beliefs on marital stability.

The major theoretical statements of marital stability have advanced adherence to religious beliefs as an important factor in the determination of marital stability. Levinger (1965) suggests that proscriptive religion and joint church attendance act as moral proscriptions or barriers to obtaining a divorce. He also suggests like-faith couples who attend church regularly are less likely to divorce, but recognizes that this may be at least partially due to the formation of a network of common affiliations. On the basis of their empirical research, Nye _et_ _al_. (1973) suggest that those who do not attend church or those who are of different religions would be more likely to experience divorce. Lewis and Spanier (1979) also conclude that those of different religious affiliations would be more prone to experience divorce.

Filsinger & Wilson (1984) take issue with the common assumption that religious variables serve as an outside pressure to remain together, or as source of barrier strength that make breakup costly. Rather than seeing religion as having merely constrictive effects, keeping low-quality marriages together because of religious proscriptions, they argue that religion may have direct, positive effects on marital adjustment. This takes place through its support of family values and activities, and by facilitating adaptation to life's problems. Even when controlling for social desirability (conventionality), religiosity remained the strongest predictor of marital adjustment (as measured by Spanier's Dyadic Adjustment Scale). Schumm _et_ _al_. (1982) support the finding that the relationship between religiosity and marital adjustment holds even when controlling for conventionality.

A number of empirical studies have examined the relationship between religious affiliation and marital stability. A study based on 500 ever-divorced persons from 8 western states sought to determine some of the perceived barriers to obtaining a divorce (Albrecht & Kunz, 1980). They found that personal religious beliefs were second only to a lack of financial support as a perceived barrier to securing a divorce. In their random sample of Nebraska households, Booth and White (1980) found weak negative relationships between conservative religious affiliation and thinking about divorce. Catholics and Baptists were less likely to indicate that they were thinking about divorce, but this relationship was not significant. The major differential was found between those with any and those with no religious affiliation. It was further discovered that the intensity of religious beliefs appears to be a better predictor of tendency to consider divorce than denominational affiliation. Protestant-Catholic marriages were found to be less stable than homogamous marriages (Bumpass & Sweeet, 1972), but no general support was found for the greater instability of interdenominational Protestant marriages. In their research relating to communes, it is reported that in "contemporary nonreligious communal households...the predominant beliefs are more likely to aid dissolution than cohesion" (Jaffe & Kanter, 1976:182). In their multivariate, multisurvey study of marital happiness utilizing data from the General Social Surveys for 1973, 1974, and 1975, Glenn and Weaver (1978) report that church attendance was one of only two variables out of a total of seven that were tested which was significantly related to marital happiness.

> Proposition 15. Conservative religious affiliation is positively related to marital commitment.

> Proposition 16. Religious participation (church attendance) is positively related to marital commitment.

In addition to the five propositions which are able to be tested by the data, two further propositions found support in the empirical literature, but could not be tested by the data.

Based on social learning theory which suggests that children learn marital roles and values in the marital subsystem, it was predicted that the greater the degree to which parents' marriage was perceived to be happy or satisfying, the lower would be the divorce liberality (Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980). This is based on the assumption that children raised in a family in which the marriage is functioning effectively observe a viable model of marriage which they can emulate, as well as developing the confidence that success in marriage can be achieved. Jorgensen and Johnson cite earlier empirical studies (Terman, 1938; Burgess & Cottrell, 1939; Locke, 1951) which found positive correlations between parents' marital happiness and adjustment and happiness in the child's own marriage. Although an inverse relationship was found between the perceived marital happiness of parents and divorce liberality, the correlations approached zero and were nonsignificant (Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980). The above relationship is supported, however, by the proposition that if the parents of the married couple have experienced marital unhappiness, there is more likelihood of divorce (Nye _et_ _al_., 1973). Lewis and Spanier (1979) place considerable stress on parental models in suggesting that the marital quality in the family of orientation, the level of happiness in one's childhood, and a positive relationship with an individual's parents are all related to the individual's marital quality.

> Proposition: The perceived marital happiness of parents is positively related to marital commitment.

Learning theory would also suggest that parental divorce would tend to make the child more liberal toward divorce in that some of the usual normative constraints against divorce would be weakened or broken down. Jorgensen and Johnson (1980) find no correlations, however, between family history of divorce and divorce liberality. Bumpass and Sweet (1972), using data from the 1970 National Fertility Study, find that women raised in families where one or both parents were deceased differed little in marital disruption rates from those raised in intact families. On the other hand, women whose parents had experienced separation or divorce had considerably higher disruption rates than those raised in stable homes, and only one-third of this variance was eliminated by controlling other variables. Mott and Moore (1979), in their five-year longitudinal survey, also found that being raised in a broken home is positively associated with marital disruption, even when a number of socioeconomic factors are controlled. In a series of studies, the role model explanation of the transmission of marital instability between generations is found to be inadequate (Pope & Mueller, 1976). An alternative approach is suggested which considers the kind of marriage likely to be contracted by children from intact as opposed to children from broken families (Mueller & Pope, 1977). They suggest that broken parental marriages may make the marriages of their children susceptible to sociocultural characteristics that disrupt marriages. Using data from the 1970 National Fertility Study to compare women from intact and voluntarily disrupted parental homes, a data pattern was observed which was consistent with the possibility that mate selection outcomes serve as intervening links in the transmission of marital instability. Of the suggested mate selection outcomes, it was found that age of wife at marriage, education of wife at marriage, and education of husband at marriage produce meaningful reduction in marital instability, and thus operate as intervening variables in partially accounting for the transmission process. Age of husband at marriage and previous marriage of husband show only slight relationships with marital instability, and hence do not operate as intervening variables in the transmission process. Premarital pregnancy and husband's religion also do not operate as intervening variables.

> Proposition: Divorce in the family of orientation is inversely related to marital commitment.

D. External or Structural Constraints

Early research on marital commitment tended to focus on personal commitment, or a personal dedication to maintain one's marriage, and to neglect the contributions of structural constraints (Rosenblatt, 1977). In his emphasis on the contribution of barriers to divorce and their relationship to marital cohesiveness, Levinger (1965) sensitized researchers to some of the structural constraints operating within the marital relationship. Johnson (1978) further developed the concept of structural constraints as a key variable in understanding dyadic commitment. While recognizing the importance of structural constraints in the determination of dyadic commitment, a number of researchers (Levinger, 1965; Nye _et_ _al_., 1973; Lewis & Spanier, 1979) suggest the primacy of personal commitment as a determinant of marital stability. Reiss (1980) argues on the other hand, that structural constraints are primary in that they not only have direct effects on commitment, but also have indirect effects through their impact on total reward-tension balance and normative inputs. A number of structural constraints have been noted in the research literature.

One of the most frequently mentioned structural constraints is that of liberalized divorce laws, which have been hypothesized to be inversely related to marital stability. Levinger (1965) suggests the impact of legal and economic bars as sources of barrier strength. Nye et al. (1973) cite research indicating that the greater the availability of divorce, the more likely it will occur. The following relationship is suggested by outstanding demographic experts:

> The phenomenal upsurge of divorce in this country during the last ten years has been stimulated by a growing acceptance of the principle that divorce is a reasonable, and at times desireable, alternative to an unhappy marriage. While negative social sanctions have lessened, so too have the legal and economic constraints involved in obtaining divorces (Norton & Glick, 1976:12).

The relationship between strictness of divorce laws and marital dissolution rates has been demonstrated in a number of American studies. A substantial proportion of the respondents in the research of Albrecht and Kunz (1980) note the perceived difficulty of divorce laws as an important barrier to their attempt to secure a divorce. Similarly, Mott and Moore (1979) find a definite independent positive association between the probability of a white woman's marital disruption and the ease with which one can obtain a divorce, as measured by the divorce rate in her state of residence. Stetson and Wright (1975) support the finding that permissiveness of divorce laws are strongly related to divorce rates in the various states. This relationship is not greatly diminished when controlling for economic development (urbanization, income, education) and social costs of divorce (population migration, ethnicity, and Catholicism). Conversely, these social and economic processes appear to influence divorce, but their direct effects on divorce rates appears to be substantially reduced when permissiveness of the law and its implementation is controlled. On the other hand, Dixon and Weitzman (1980) analyzed five samples of 500 divorce decrees drawn from Los Angeles and San Francisco counties in 1968 (two years before the California Family Law Act came into effect), and 1972 (two years after the enactment of the law), and from Los Angeles in 1977 (five years later). They conclude that the adoption of no-fault divorce laws did not result in any real acceleration in the rate of marital dissolution. They do note, however, that California has always been considered a liberal divorce state, even under the old adversary system.

At least one Canadian study also examines the relationship between divorce laws and marital stability. In contrast to the United States where divorce law is under state jurisdiction, the exclusive authority over marriage and divorce is assigned to the federal parliament under the B.N.A. Act, but a federal divorce code was not written until 1968. Abernathy and Arcus (1977) distinguish between provinces providing for judicial dissolution of marriage through the courts and those requiring a special act of the federal parliament. Between 1867 and 1876 Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were the only two provinces making provision for judicial divorce. These provinces constituted only 18 percent of the entire population, but accounted for 87 percent of all of the divorce petitions granted. Further, a dramatic increase in the divorce rate is noted as the various provinces introduced judicial divorce, and a further dramatic increase is noted with the introduction of the more liberal federal Divorce Act in 1968.

> Proposition 17. Liberal divorce laws are inversely related to marital commitment.

A great deal of research has been devoted to the impact of divorce on children. Considerably less research has been devoted to the potential impact of children upon a couple's decision to divorce or separate (Kanoy & Miller, 1980). While Levinger (1965) hypothesized that the presence of children acted as a barrier to divorce, he also argued that if the parents believed that a divorce would contribute to the greater happiness of children by providing a better home environment free from conflict, then the existence of children would no longer act as a barrier force. Similarly, Kanoy and Miller (1980) argue that children may be either barriers to or facilitators of divorce depending, in part, on the amount of stress and the amount of obligation experienced by parents. An interesting finding of the family life cycle studies is that marital happiness tends to decrease with the birth of children (Burr, 1970; Campbell, 1975; Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Rollins & Feldman, 1970). In contrast, the presence of children contributes to an increase in marital stability (Albrecht & Kunz, 1980; Levinger, 1965) and is negatively associated with divorce liberality (Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980). Similarly, the marital adjustment literature indicates that the highest rates of marital happiness are experienced before the birth of the first child (Burr, 1970; Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Rollins & Feldman, 1970; Waldron & Routh, 1981), but the stability literature indicates that childless wives have substantially higher marital disruption rates (Bumpass & Sweet, 1972; Spanier & Glick, 1981; Thornton, 1977). Glenn and McLanahan (1982) suggest that there is an inherent tendency for children to have a negative impact on marital happiness and satisfaction because of the stress in our society on highly individualistic and hedonistic values in which marriage is expected to provide a high level of emotional and sexual intimacy, and to be the spouses' primary source of companionship. They conclude that "the fact that children tend to increase the emotional and financial costs of divorce to both spouses must still make children the 'glue' which holds many marriages together" (Glenn & McLanahan, 1982:69). In contrast, Yankelovich (1981) finds in his studies of the American family carried out in the 1970's that nearly two-thirds of all American parents reject the idea that parents should stay together for the children's sake even if the parents are unhappy with each other.

> Proposition 18. The presence of children is positively related to marital commitment.

The impact of children upon marital commitment may be specific to the age of the child. Thus, Booth and White (1980) report that the presence of preschoolers is most highly associated with thinking about divorce. On the other hand, Cherlin (1977) found that for families with a child less than age 6 present, the probability of separation was only half of what it was for all other families. The probability of separation for families with children aged 6-17 was the same as for families with no children aged 17 or younger, and these probabilities were the same as for the population at large. Thus Cherlin suggests that the presence of children lowers the probabilities of dissolution only when the children are of preschool age. The reason suggested for this finding is that "children prevent marital dissolution not because they build new bonds between parents but rather because early child care may be too expensive and time-consuming for one spouse to manage alone" (Cherlin, 1977:271-2). In other words, preschool children do not contribute to greater personal commitment, but rather to greater stress and marital dissatisfaction. On the other hand, they do constitute a structural constraint against marital dissolution.

Rankin & Maneker (1985) find that the presence of children is positively associated with the longer duration of marriage, but when there are children under 2, couples are more inclined to early divorce. This tendency is even more pronounced among couples marrying during adolescence and among those with lower levels of education. It appears that the presence of young children puts unusual strains upon the marital relationship, particularly in the case of young parents with little education.

Schumm & Bugaighis (1986) analyze the combined effects of preschool children, employment, social class, and marital social desirability upon marital satisfaction. They conclude that the presence of pre-school children accounts for much of the observed decline in marital satisfaction during the middle stages of the family life cycle, particularly among low-income mothers who are employed full-time.

> Proposition 19. The presence of preschool-age children is positively related to marital commitment.

The number of children also has a considerable impact upon the probability of marital disruption, but the findings are contradictory. On the one hand it is reported that the probability of marital dissolution is greater when more children are present (Cherlin, 1977). This finding, however, is not statistically significant. A greater number of studies report increased marital stability with the number of children (Mott & Moore, 1979; Spanier & Glick, 1981; Thornton, 1977), or that the number of children is inversely related to divorce liberality (Jorgensen & Johnson, 1980). Kanoy and Miller (1980) suggest that a discrepancy between the number of children desired and the actual number born may be a factor which contributes to divorce.

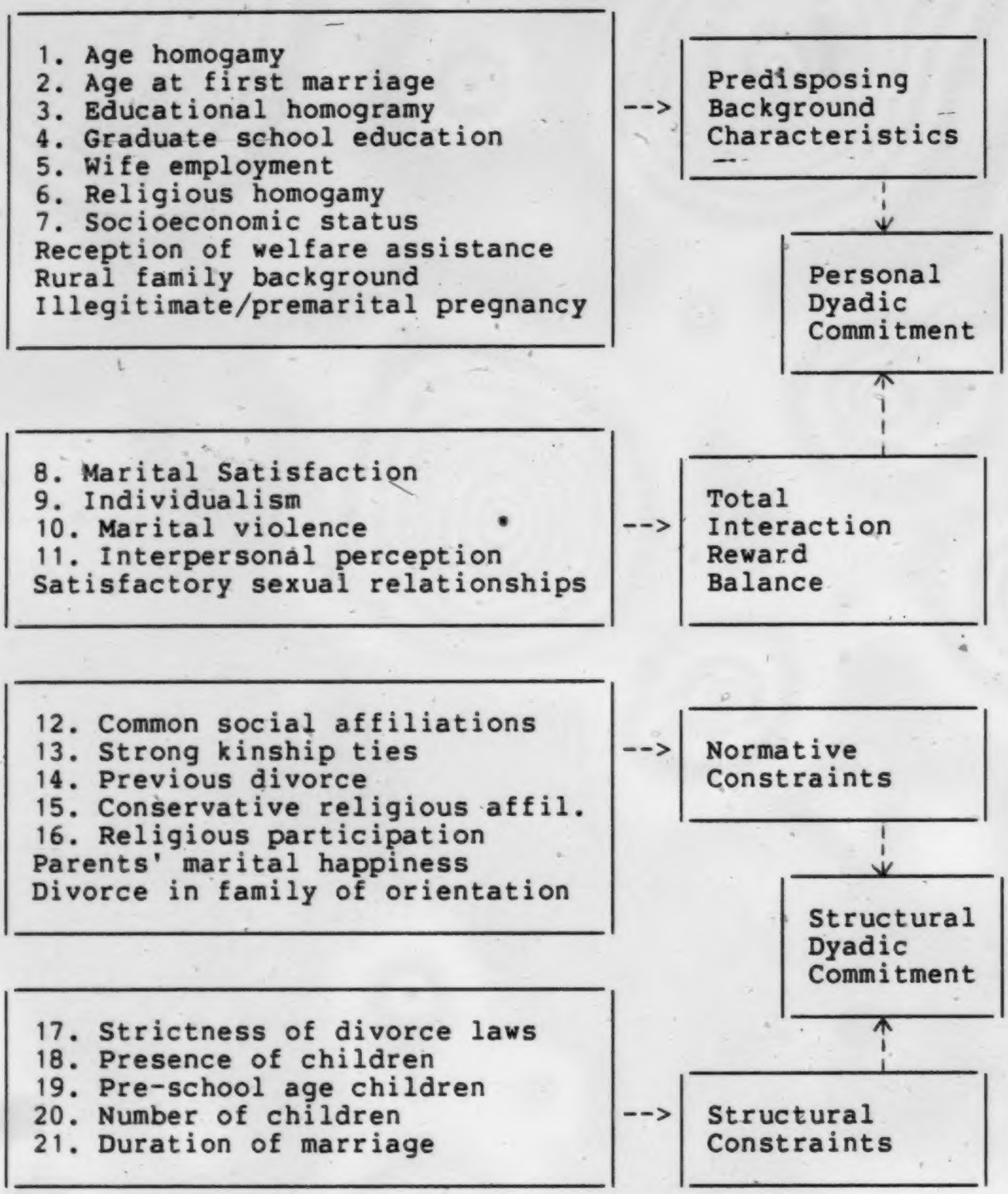
Proposition 20. The number of children is positively related to marital commitment.

The duration of marriage has been found to be positively related to marital stability (Ammons & Stinnett, 1980; Bahr, 1979; Booth & White, 1980; Cherlin, 1977; Lee, 1977; Mott & Moore, 1979), despite the widely reported finding that marital happiness tends to decrease with duration of marriage (Blood, 1967; Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Lee, 1977; Pineo, 1961). Glenn and Weaver (1978), utilizing data from three General Social Surveys, find that marital happiness declines with duration of marriage for females in their samples, but that it increases for males. In their analysis of a large number of vital marriages, Ammons and Stinnett (1980) found that, rather than experiencing decreases in marital satisfaction, these couples demonstrated a concomitant increase in marital vitality with the number of years of marriage. They suggest that this unexpected finding may be explained by the couples' commitment to the marriage. "Commitment to developing a vital marital relationship and the determination and perseverence to honor that commitment are often ignored in the literature although they may well be among the more important enabling factors in marital success" (Ammons & Stinnett, 1980:40). Commenting on the fact that the positive correlation between the receipt of welfare and marital dissolution decreased with the duration of marriage, it is suggested that with the passage of time "the costs of marital dissolution probably increase because of the large investment in the marriage, the lower probability of remarriage, children and, simply, inertia" (Bahr, 1979:559). The fact that a large proportion of couples defining their marriage as relatively unhappy had nevertheless not considered divorce leads Booth and White to suggest that "there may be powerful factors which operate to keep some unhappy husbands and wives from even thinking about divorce and which encourage some happily married people to consider divorce" (1980:615). Based on data from a five-year national longitudinal survey, Mott and Moore (1979) conclude that age at marriage and duration of marriage are the two strongest determinants of marital stability. They report that while not being as prevalent during the first two years of marriage, separation and divorce reach their highest levels during the third to fifth years of marriage, then begin to decline significantly. Booth and White (1980) report that thinking about divorce is higher during the earlier years of marriage, then gradually declines.

> Proposition 21. Duration of marriage is positively related to marital commitment.

The proposed relationships of the correlates of marital stability to personal and structural commitment have been examined in some detail in terms of their empirical support. These proposed relationships are diagrammed in Figure 3.1. Because this study uses measures of commitment which have

FIGURE 3.1 CORRELATES OF MARITAL COMMITMENT


1. Age homogamy
2. Age at first marriage
3. Educational homogramy
4. Graduate school education
5. Wife employment
6. Religious homogamy
7. Socioeconomic status
Reception of welfare assistance
Rural family background
Illegitimate/premarital pregnancy
Predisposing Background Characteristics
Personal Dyadic Commitment
8. Marital Satisfaction
9. Individualism
10. Marital violence
11. Interpersonal perception
Satisfactory sexual relationships
Total Interaction Reward Balance
12. Common social affiliations
13. Strong kinship ties
14. Previous divorce
15. Conservative religious affil.
16. Religious participation
Parents' marital happiness
Divorce in family of orientation
Normative Constraints
Structural Dyadic Commitment
17. Strictness of divorce laws
18. Presence of children
19. Pre-school age children
20. Number of children
21. Duration of marriage
Structural Constraints

not been tested by previous empirical research, it may provide some new insights into the relationship between these variables and marital stability.

It needs to be kept in mind that the propositions outlined above summarize the primary indicators found to be related to marital stability in recent empirical research. The great majority of this research has not taken place within a clearly-defined theoretical framework. The primary attempt to place many of these empirical findings in theoretical perspective (Lewis & Spanier, 1979) relates many of these indicators to marital stability through their contribution to marital quality. This approach views commitment as one of a number of threshold variables which intervene between marital quality and marital stability.

Based on both theoretical and empirical considerations, the present study makes the basic assumption that the proposed indicators may be related to marital stability through their possible contribution to marital commitment. It is this basic assumption which will be tested in this study. It is hypothesized that some of the anomalous findings regarding the relationships between marital quality and stability (high quality-low stability and low quality-high stability marriages) will be clarified by the use of the concept of marital commitment.

The differentiation of personal and structural commitment suggested by Johnson (1978), and utilized as the foundation of the present study will also need to be tested by the data. Some of the indicators which have been hypothesized to be related to personal commitment, may very well have a stronger relationship to structural commitment, and those which were expected to be related to structural commitment may be related more strongly to personal commitment. Some indicators may be related to neither structural nor personal commitment, and some may be equally related to both. The data analysis will clarify these relationships and provide more information for the development of a clear model.

The differentiation between personal and structural commitment does have good theoretical support. In a stimulating study of the interaction of structure and bonding in human relationships, Macionis (1978) suggests that to enter marriage is ideally to conform to an external normative system that has the effect of bonding individuals together in functional interdependence and affect, and that this bond is supportive of intimacy. On the other hand, marital structure may intervene between persons, so that with the passing of time individuals increasingly "take each other for granted" in their habitual interactions, with the result that the extraordinary is gradually transformed into the ordinary. The result is a paradox in that the structure that supports the close relationship of marriage may function in an opposite sense to inhibit the conscious pursuit of intimacy as an important basis of the vitality of the marriage relationship. In a somewhat similar approach, Levinger (1979) suggests that the strategy of traditional society for maintaining marriages was to strengthen the barriers preventing formal exit and to remove all alternatives from realistic consideration. While that strategy often resulted in public stability, it had its costs in private tension or despair. In contrast, the contemporary maintenance strategy is to revive or raise the couple's mutual feelings of attraction through marriage therapy or relationship enhancement. Lewis and Spanier (1979) argue that the relationship of external constraint (structural commitment) to internal cohesion (personal commitment) within long-term relationships is extremely complex, but that there are some indications that high external constraint, if anything, reduces internal resolve. The present investigation should provide further understanding of this relationship between personal and structural commitment.

In summary, an examination of indicators of marital stability found in recent empirical literature has led to the formulation of twenty-one propositions which will provide a test of the relationship between these indicators and marital commitment. These indicators are analyzed in terms of four broad theoretical constructs: predisposing background characteristics, total interaction reward/tension balance, normative constraints, and structural constraints.

IV. METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides the methodological approach to the investigation of marital commitment. It provides information on how the sample was set up to secure the data for this study, including a description of the main sample (428 individuals) and of the couple sub-sample (179 couples or 358 individuals) upon which this study is based. There is also a description of how various variables measuring commitment are combined to create the two primary measures of personal and structural commitment. A brief description of the measures of the twenty-one independent variables is also provided. Finally, this chapter provides a summary of the key approaches which were used to analyze the data.

A. The Sample

The data for ~~the~~ present study were provided by the 1980 Edmonton Area Survey (Northcott & Kinzel, 1980). This annual survey has for the previous four years investigated a variety of "quality of life" issues. In addition to the general theme there has been an annual investigation of a particular subtheme, with the 1980 special focus being placed on family life. This special focus provides a broad range of information on topics relevant to the present investigation.

The sampling design designated the population universe as all dwelling units that were enumerated during the City of Edmonton's annual civic census in the spring of 1979. A computerized list of addresses compiled from the census information served as the sampling frame, from which a random sample of 560 addresses for personal face-to-face interviewing was selected. The household was the primary sampling unit, with nursing homes and student residences being deleted from the sample.

A one-hour interview was conducted with one eligible person within the household who identified the dwelling as his usual place of residence and who was 18 years of age or older. An attempt was made to obtain an equal number of male and female respondents, with a final distribution of 51.2% male and 48.8% female respondents. In addition to the MAIN questionnaire, interviews were also requested with the spouses (including common-law spouses) of respondents, during which the SPOUSE questionnaire was administered.

The data collection was completed by a total of 40 trained interviewers who were hired from the Population Research Lab's interviewing pool. An introductory letter was sent to each selected address in the week prior to the beginning of interviewing, briefly describing the nature of the study, and informing the householder of his selection, and of the coming visit. Of the completed MAIN interviews, 54% were conducted on the first visit, with 68% of the spouse interviews being completed on the same visit as the MAIN interview. A methodological question is whether the results vary between those husbands and wives who completed the questionnaire at the same time, compared to those where one spouse completed the interview at a later time. No attempt was made to address this question in the data analysis. Data collection was completed in eight weeks, with 80% of the interviewing being completed during the first four weeks. The final sample size for the MAIN questionnaire was 428 which constitutes a response rate of 76.4%. The final sample size for the SPOUSE questionnaire was 179, constituting a 68.6% response rate.

Of the respondents to the MAIN questionnaire, 51% were male and 49% were female. In contrast, 39% of respondents to the SPOUSE questionnaire were male and 61% were female. The attempt to balance males and females for the MAIN questionnaire results in an overselection of married males relative to married females, and consequently the spouse who completed the SPOUSE questionnaire is more likely to be female. Because it is more difficult to find males at home, when both male and female were at home the male was selected for the MAIN questionnaire, leaving the wife to complete the SPOUSE questionnaire.

Comparisons of the 1980 EAS MAIN sample with the results of the 1967 Census of Canada for Edmonton indicates that the sample adequately represents the Edmonton population with respect to size of household, age distributions, and marital status distributions of the respondents (Northcott & Kinzel, 1980).

The following eleven major topics and relevant sub-topics were investigated by the 1980 Edmonton Area Study

(Northcott & Kinzel, 1980): demographic characteristics of population, urban characteristics, social behavior, quality of life, marital history, family responsibilities and relationships, employment characteristics, personal well-being, social attitudes, environmental issues, and a number of current issues.

B. Description of the Sample

A total of 428 individuals completed the main questionnaire, of which 51% were male and 49% were female. Within this main sample data is available for both husband and wife for 179 couples (358 individuals), and these data form the basis of the present analysis.

Family composition . Almost half the sample (46.4%) had no children living in the household at the time of the study. Fifty-one couples (28.5%) had one child, 34 couples (19%) had two children, 10 couples (5.6%) had three children, and 1 couple had four children living with them. The isolated nuclear family living in one household tends to be the norm (168 households, 93.9%), with only 11 households (6.1%) having either an extended family member and/or a friend or boarder also living with the family. The ages of husbands in the study ranged from 19 to 79, with a mean age of 41 years. Wives ranged in age from 18 to 76, with a mean age of 39 years.

Occupations and employment. Approximately half of the males worked at white-collar jobs, with the largest single group (16.8%) being in the managerial and/or administrative area, and the second largest group (15.1%) working in the areas of natural sciences, engineering, mathematics, social sciences, teaching, and other related academic areas. Another 12.8% of the white-collar workers were found in the sales field. The highest proportion of blue-collar jobs (20.1%) was found in construction. Of the male workers, 83.8% worked full-time, 9.5% were retired, 2.8% worked part-time, 2.2% were unemployed, and 1.1% were in school.

One third of the females (34.1%) are found in clerical jobs, with other major areas being sales (12.3%), medicine and health occupations (11.7%), teaching (8.9%) and service occupations (7.3%). In addition to teaching and medicine/health occupations, only 4.5% of the females listed other professional areas, which makes a total of 25% of wives working in professional areas. With regard to employment status, 36.3% of the wives worked full-time, 36.3% were homemakers, 17.9% were employed part-time, 4.5% were retired, 2.2% were unemployed, and 2.2% were in school.

Education. Individuals appear to have completed a fairly low level of education, with 33% of the males and 30% of the females having less than a high school education. Of the 37% of the males and the 33% of the females who went beyond the high school level, 18% of the males and 17% of the females completed some university, 12% of the males and 10% of the females completed a bachelor's degree, and 7% of the males and 6% of the females completed either a master's, professional, or doctorate degree.

Income. The lowest fifth of the sample (20.4%) reported household income before tax and deductions of less than $20,000 per year. The highest fifth of the sample (20.5%) reported household income before tax and deductions of $45,000 or higher. The mean household income fell between $25,000 and $30,000.

When the income of the husband alone is analyzed, the bottom fifth of the sample (23.4%) falls at less than $15,000 and 10% of the sample falls below $8,000 per year. The highest fifth of the sample (19.6%) falls at $25,000 or higher, with the top 10% falling at $35,000 or higher.

Religious preference. Religious preference was coded into seventeen different categories, with the largest groups being Roman Catholic (20.1% of males and 21.8% of females), no religious preference (16.8% of males and 11.7% of females), United (12.3% of males and 15.6% of females) and those simply designated as Protestant (10.1% of males and 11.7% of females). Out of a total of 173 couples who indicated their religious preference, 126 couples (70%) were homogamous with respect to religious affiliation. This appears to be a rather high percentage, but it is possible that a substantial number of persons had changed their religious affiliation after marriage. A lower proportion of homogamous marriages would be expected if persons had indicated their religious affiliation previous to marriage.

Based on the figures in the marital sample, those who most frequently married outside of their faith were Anglican (33% for both males and females), Lutheran (33% for both males and females), Roman Catholic (31% for males and 36% for females), and United (23% for males and 39% for females). Males who indicated no religious affiliation married females who did indicate a religious affiliation in 31% of the cases, whereas females who indicated no religious affiliation married males with a specific religious affiliation in only 5% of the cases. This indicates that females with a religious affiliation are much more likely to marry males with no religious affiliation than vice versa.

Mobility. A fairly mobile population is represented by the fact that 60% of the population had lived in their present residence for 5 years or less. A fairly substantial proportion of the sample (24%) had lived in the city of Edmonton for 5 years or less, indicating that 1 out of 4 families had moved to Edmonton from elsewhere during the past 5 years. Twenty percent of the families in the sample had lived in Edmonton for 3 years or less, indicating a substantial in-migration.

Marital status. Within the marital sample, 161 couples (90%) indicated that they were now married, and 18 couples (10%) indicated that they were living in a common law relationship. Within the main sample, including both males and females, the current marital status of all respondents is as follows: single (never married), 21%; now married, 54.7%; common law, 6.3%; divorced, 5.1%; separated, 5.8%; widowed, 7.0%. Of the 179 couples in the marital sample, 170 males (95%) and 160 females (89.4%) had never been divorced, 6 males (3.4%) and 17 females (9.5%) had been divorced once, and 1 male and 1 female (0.6%) had been divorced twice. Approximately the same rates of divorce are found in the main sample.

C. Measurement of the Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this investigation is theoretically based on Johnson's (1978) formulation of marital commitment. It is not, however, a direct replication of his study because of the inability to secure his questionnaire, and also because the number of questions submitted for inclusion in the Edmonton Area Survey had to be restricted.

The measurement of marital commitment is based on the respondent's agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements, measured on a seven point scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7):

1. Our relationship can be ended by mutual consent.
2. I couldn't continue to live with my spouse if I didn't love him/her.
3. If my spouse were unfaithful, for whatever reason, our relationship would end.
4. Our relationship involves a life long commitment which is binding on both of us "until death do us part".
5. It would be a lot of trouble for my spouse and me to separate.
6. I have a very large investment in my relationship with my spouse.
7. My relatives and friends would strongly disapprove of my ending our relationship.

For the first three statements, strongly disagree is coded as high commitment and strongly agree is coded as low commitment. For the final four statements, strongly agree is coded as high commitment and strongly disagree is coded as low commitment.

The reliability program (Hull & Nie, 1981) was used to evaluate the use of the seven statements in a multiple-item additive scale of commitment in order to determine if a composite scale(s) of commitment could be legitimately constructed. A number of approaches to the construction of such a scale(s) were investigated. A summary of the variables utilized for the measures of commitment is provided in Table 4.1 for reference purposes.

TABLE 4.1 VARIABLES INCLUDED IN COMMITMENT SCALE

VARIABLE NAME	MALE VAR. NO.	FEMALE VAR. NO.	COMBINED VAR. NO.
Relationship ended by mutual consent	VAR228	VAR642	VAR828
Couldn't live with spouse without love	VAR229	VAR643	VAR829
Unfaithfulness ends relationship	VAR230	VAR644	VAR830
Relationship is life long	VAR231	VAR645	VAR831
A lot of trouble to separate	VAR232	VAR646	VAR832
Large investment in relationship	VAR233	VAR647	VAR833
Relatives/friends disapprove ending relationship	VAR239	VAR653	VAR839

The first approach involved applying the reliability analysis to the male and female measures of commitment separately. Neither the male nor female scale achieved an acceptable level of alpha. Since the theoretical analysis of commitment (Johnson, 1978) suggested the existence of two factors of commitment, factor analysis was applied to both the male and female variables measuring commitment. While this analysis suggested the existence of two distinct factors for both males and females, neither of them achieved an acceptable level of alpha.

The second approach was to combine identical male and female variables into a combined variable for the purpose of analysis. Thus, for example, VAR828 (a new variable) was computed by combining VAR228 with VAR642, the male and female variables respectively of mutual consent. Each of the remaining six variables were combined in the same way, resulting in seven new variables, VAR828 to VAR839 (see Table 4.1). Entering all seven variables in the reliability analysis of commitment failed to achieve an acceptable level of alpha (.5918). The use of the "scale" specification within the reliability program permits the specification of any subset of variables as a particular scale. Using this specification, variables 828 to 831 were set up as a subscale measuring personal commitment, and variables 832 to 839 were set up as a subscale measuring structural commitment. The subscale measuring structural commitment achieved a satisfactory level of alpha (.7310), but that measuring personal commitment did not achieve a satisfactory level of alpha (.4426).

A factor analysis utilizing the combined variables strongly supports the reliability analysis of personal and structural commitment. Two factors emerge, with factor 1 being composed of VAR831 to VAR833 (structural commitment), and factor 2 being composed of VAR829 and VAR830 (personal commitment).

The third approach was to do a reliability analysis utilizing the seven male variables and the seven female variables. Entering all 14 of the variables into the scale analysis resulted in an alpha of 0.69420. Item-total statistics suggested the deletion of VAR230 and VAR644, which are the male and female variables related to unfaithfulness ending the relationship. The use of the 12 remaining variables resulted in an alpha of 0.72691, indicating that this scale had achieved an acceptable level of alpha, and could be used as a measurement of overall commitment (see Appendix 4.1). The measurement of personal commitment combined VAR228 to VAR230 and VAR642 to VAR644 and resulted in an alpha of 0.58155. Item-total statistics suggested the deletion of VAR228 and VAR642, which is the variable for both males and females which suggests the relationship can be ended by mutual consent. The deletion of these two variables and the use of a 4-item scale, results in an alpha of 0.60626 which cannot be improved by the deletion of any further items. This scale will therefore be used as a measure of personal commitment (see Appendix 4.2). Despite the fact that this scale has not achieved an acceptable level of alpha, there are other theoretical and methodological reasons for using it. Theoretically, the model on which this study is based (Johnson, 1978) defines both personal and structural commitment. The propositions have also been formulated to differentiate between personal and structural commitment. The availability of a measure of personal commitment is therefore theoretically important. Methodologically, both reliability analysis and factor analysis clearly differentiate these two measures, and consequently their use should make important contributions to the clear analysis of commitment. The measurement of structural commitment by the use of VAR231 to VAR239 and VAR645 to VAR653 yielded an alpha of 0.77487 which could not be strengthened by the deletion of any items. This scale composed of 8 items will therefore be used as the measure of structural commitment (See Appendix 4.3).

The combination of variables to form a scale of personal commitment and structural commitment was supported by the use of a factor analysis of the 14 variables (See Appendix 4.4). The factor matrix suggests the existence of four factors, of which only the first two achieve an eigenvalue greater than 1. These two factors account for 78.7% of the variance. Factor 1 is composed of VAR231 to VAR233 and VAR645 to VAR653. These are the same 8 variables used in the reliability analysis to measure structural commitment, with the exception of VAR239 which only achieved a level of .34072 in the factor matrix. This is the male variable of relatives and friends disapproving of ending the relationship. Since the reliability program includes this variable in the measure of structural commitment, and since the identical female variable is included in the factor analysis, it is argued that the inclusion of this variable in the measurement of structural commitment is justified. Factor 2 is composed of VAR229, VAR230, and VAR644. These are the four variables used in the reliability scale to measure personal commitment, with the exception of VAR643 which only achieved a level of .42051 in the factor matrix. VAR643 is the variable measuring female responses to the statement regarding unwillingness to live with spouse without love. Once again, since this variable is included by the reliability measure of personal commitment, and since the identical male variable is included, it is argued that the inclusion of this variable is justified.

In summary, the reliability analysis, supported by factor analysis, suggests the use of three composite scales as measures of the dependent variable of dyadic commitment. The first is an overall measure of dyadic commitment, and is composed of twelve variables (6 male and 6 female). The second is a measure of personal commitment and is composed of four variables (2 male and 2 female). The third scale is a measure of structural commitment and is composed of eight variables (4 male and 4 female). These three composite scales will constitute the primary measurement of the dependent variable.

In the calculation of the composite scales, an average was computed over the variables in the scale for each case, rather than using the simple sum. In the construction of the composite score for a case with missing values, the average value on the non-missing items was used as the scale score, providing the case had missing data on no more than one of the items. The overall dyadic commitment scale (12 variables) has no missing data for 136 of the 179 cases (76%). Twenty-seven cases had missing data on one item (15.1%), and thus when the average value of the non-missing items was used on the scale score, this allowed the calculation of a scale score based on 163 cases (91.1% of the sample. The personal commitment scale (4 variables) had no missing data for 159 of the 179 cases (88.8%). Fourteen cases had missing data on one item only (7.8%), and when the average value of the non-missing items was used for these 14 cases, this permitted the calculation of a scale score based on 173 cases (96.6% of the sample). The structural commitment scale (8 variables) had no missing data on 160 of the 179 cases (89.4%). Six cases had missing data on one item only (3.4%), and the use of the average value of the non-missing items permitted the calculation of a scale score based on 166 cases (92.7% of the sample).

D. Measurement of the Independent Variables

The examination of the empirical research dealing with factors which are directly or indirectly related to the concept of marital stability provided a total of twenty-seven first-order propositions (Chapter 3). Of this total, six could not be tested because of the lack of data in the Edmonton Area Survey. These involve the following variables: reception of welfare assistance; rural family background; illegitimate births and/or premarital pregnancy; satisfactory sexual relationships; parents' marital happiness; and divorce in the family of orientation. The remaining twenty-one first-order propositions were able to be tested by the use of data found in the 1980 Edmonton Area Survey.

Age differences. Age differences between spouses were measured by subtracting the age of the female from the age of the male in order to create a new variable measuring age differences. Twenty-two dyads (12.3%) in the sample were the same age. In 25 dyads (13.9%) the wife was 1 or 2 years older than her husband, and from 3 to 8 years older in 13 dyads (7.3%). For 55 dyads (30.8%) the husband was 1 or 2 years older, for 48 dyads (26.8%) he was from 3 to 8 years older, and for 16 dyads (9.1%) he was from 9 to 20 years older.

Age at first marriage. The survey had no variable measuring age at first marriage, and so one was created measuring age at first marriage for both husbands and wives. These were created from a combination of the following three variables for males and females respectively (Table 4.2):

TABLE 4.2 CALCULATION OF AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

MALE VAR. NO.	VARIABLE NAME	FEMALE VAR. NO.
VAR078	Age when entered current marriage	VAR492
VAR084	Age when entered previous marriage	VAR498
VAR090	Age when entered second previous marriage	VAR504

Using the three variables for males as an example, the following response code would be encountered for each of the three possible situations. For the person who was married only once, and who was married at the age of 20, the responses would be coded as: VAR078=20, VAR084=99, and VAR090=99. For the person married twice, and who was 19 years old at his first marriage and 24 years old at his second marriage, the response code would be: VAR078=24, VAR084=19, and VAR090=99. For the person married three times, and who was 18 at his first marriage, 23 at his second, and 28 at his third, the response code would be: VAR078=28, VAR084=23, and VAR090=18. The following three "if" statements were then used to create the variable measuring age at first marriage for males: (1) IF (VAR090 EQ

99 AND VAR084 EQ 99) VAR805=VAR078. The conditional statement provides information on age at first marriage for those males married only once. (2) IF (VAR090 EQ 99 AND VAR084 NE 99) VAR805=VAR084. This statement provides the age at first marriage for those males married twice, and would equal 19 in our hypothetical example. (3) IF (VAR090 NE 99 AND VAR084 NE 99) VAR805=VAR090. This statement provides the age at first marriage for those males married three times, and would equal 18 in our hypothetical example. Age at first marriage for females was constructed using a similar technique. The information indicates that females marry for the first time at a considerably earlier age than males. 2.2% of males and 15.1% of females were married for the first time by the age of 18. 15.6% of the males and 43.0% of the females were married for the first time by the age of 20. 62.6% of the males and 81.0% of the females were married for the first time by the age of 25. 1.6% of the males and 2.8% of the females married for the first time after they had reached the age of 40.

Spousal differences in educational level. A variable measuring educational differences between spouses was calculated by subtracting the variable measuring years of schooling for females from the variable measuring years of schooling for males. Twenty females (11.3%) had from 4 to 10 years more education than their mate, 21 females (11.7%) had 2 or 3 years more, and 19 females (10.6%) had 1 year more education. Thirty-seven couples (20.7%) were at the same educational level. Twenty-three males (12.8%) had 1 year more education than their spouse, 32 males (17.9%) had 2 or 3 years more, and 27 males (14.1%) had from 4 to 9 years more education.

Graduate-school education. Level of education is provided by responses to the question asking what is the highest level of education completed by respondents. It should be noted that only ten women had completed graduate school education, with 4 having completed a master's degree, and 6 having completed a professional or doctoral degree. Eighteen women (10.1%) had completed a bachelor's degree, and 31 (17.3%) indicated they had attended university, but had not completed a degree. Sixty-six women (36.9%) had completed high school, whereas 32 (17.9%) had attended high school, but had not completed it. Twenty-two females (12.4%) had not gone beyond the elementary or junior high level.

Wife employment. The variable measuring spouse's employment status indicated that 65 spouses (36.3%) were employed full time, 32 (17.9%) were employed part-time, 65 (36.3%) were keeping house, and 17 (9.5%) indicated that they were either unemployed, retired, in school, or other. Information regarding number of months wives were employed full-time indicated that 51 spouses (28.5%) were employed full-time for 12 months, 31 spouses (17.3%) were employed full-time from 2-11 months, and 95 (53.1%) were not employed on a full-time basis.

Religious homogamy. Both males and females were asked to give their religious preference, with five males and four females refusing to respond to this question. Seventeen different categories were coded. Religious homogamy was first measured by a crosstabulation of the husband's religious preference with that of his wife, which indicated that 126 couples out of a total of 173 (73%) were homogamous with respect to religion. These couples were then compared with respect to commitment with those who were not homogamous.

Respondents were then classified according to 5 broad categories of religion: (1) those who indicated no religious preference (27 males and 21 females); (2) those classified as members of mainline denominations (48 husbands and 48 wives), including Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian and United Church; (3) those indicating they were Catholic (39 husbands and 44 wives), including Greek, Roman, and Ukrainian Catholic; (4) those indicating conservative religious affiliation (10 husbands and 11 wives), including Baptist, Mennonite, Mormon, Pentecostal, and Salvation Army; and (5) those classified as others, including Protestant unspecified, Christian unspecified, and others. There was only one Jewish couple in the sample, and so they were placed in this residual category. Using only the first four categories, husbands and wives were again crosstabulated, resulting in a total of 124 couples. Of these, 102 (82.2%) were homogamous in their religious affiliation, according to the broad categories. Comparisons were made in marital commitment between the homogamous couples, and the various combinations of non-homogamous couples.

Socioeconomic status. A number of indicators of socioeconomic status were provided by the data, including level of income, level of education, level of occupation, and social class perception.

Two measures of income were included in the Edmonton Area Survey. The first is household income before tax and deductions, and the second is income of the respondent during the past year. The mean of *household* income before tax and deductions falls in the $30,000 to $34,999 category, while the median falls in the $25,000 to $29,999 category. The bottom fifth of the sample falls below $17,500 for household income before tax and deductions, while the top fifth falls at $40,000 or above. Both the mean and the median of income of *respondents* during the past year falls in the $17,500 to $19,999 category. The bottom fifth of the sample has an income below $11,000, and the top fifth of the sample has an income above $25,000.

A number of conditions related to income, and found by previous empirical research to be related to marital stability, were tested as controls. The first control variable was whether the couple owns or rents their dwelling. Of the present sample, 124 couples (69%) owned their dwelling, 53 couples (30%) rented, and two couples had missing data. A second control is the amount of debts a couple has accumulated. In the present sample 77 couples (43%) had no accumulated debts, 28 couples (15.7%) owed from $100 to $1,500, 25 couples (14%) had debts of from $2,000 to $3,000, 25 couples (14%) owed from $3,500 to $9,000, and 17 couples (9.5%) had debts of from $10,000 to $100,000 or more. These debts were owed to loan companies, banks, credit cards, and so on, and were beyond the couple's house mortgage. Unemployment has also been related to marital stability, and so the number of months working full-time was used as a control.

Two measures of level of education are provided for both the respondent and the spouse. The first measure indicates the highest level of education which each has completed, and the second indicates the total number of years of schooling which each has completed, including grade school, high school, vocational, technical and university. A number of controls were suggested by the empirical literature, including duration of marriage, religion, and age at first marriage.

Level of occupation is also provided by two different variables. The first is given as the occupation of the respondent which is secured in response to the question "What kind of work do you usually do?" Twenty-five possible categories were listed, with twenty categories represented in the sample. The second is given as industry of work, and is provided in response to the question, "What kind of place do you work for?" Eleven possible categories were listed, with nine categories represented in the sample. Some consideration was given to calculating an occupational prestige score for each of the male respondents,using the Blishen code of occupational rank. A preliminary breakdown of the measures of personal commitment and structural commitment, however, found no significant differences between the means of the various categories and the mean for the entire population. A recent study (Locksley, 1982) also finds that respondent's category of occupation was significantly associated with only one of fourteen marital attitude and behavior measures, and was not particularly associated with divorce rate for either males or females. In contrast, respondent's educational attainment was significantly associated with twelve out of fourteen marital attitude and behavior measures, and also with the likelihood of divorce for both males and females. Because of the lack of significant variation in the dependent variable caused by occupational differences, and the additional support provided by Locksley's study, the complex procedure of calculating occupational prestige scores was not utilized.

The respondent's perception of social class was secured by asking him to what social class he belonged. Responses indicated the following perception of social class among the respondents: working class (15.1%); lower middle (8.9%); middle (47.5%); upper middle (7.8%) upper (0.6%). Twenty-four respondents (13.4%) indicated there was no such thing as social class, and 12 respondents (6.7%) provided either no response or indicated they did not know what social class they belonged to.

A composite index of socioeconomic status was calculated by combining the five variables of household income before tax and deductions, income of respondent during the past year, level of education completed, total number of years of schooling, and perception of social class. This composite index had possible values of from 5 to 40.

Marital satisfaction. Several approaches to the measurement of marital satisfaction were taken. The first approach was the measurement of degrees of happiness in the marriage relationship. The respondents were given a scale of from 0 to 100. They were instructed to use the middle point (50) to represent the degree of happiness of _most_ marriage relationships, and then to indicate the number which indicates the degree of happiness in their relationship. The responses to the question were highly skewed to the high side, with 68.7% of the husbands and 69.9% of the wives falling at 80 or above on the scale. Sixteen husbands and 16 wives (8.9%) marked themselves at the mid-point of the scale (the degree of happiness of most marriages) and 4 husbands

(2.2%) and 8 wives (4.5%) perceived the degree of happiness of their marriage as below 50 (the degree of happiness of most marriage relationships).

The second approach to the measurement of marital satisfaction was the use of the measurement of satisfaction with family life. While this is a general question which measures far more than marital satisfaction, it is argued that marital satisfaction is an important component of satisfaction with family life. Responses to this question were given on a scale of 1 to 7, with 7 indicating the respondent was very satisfied. Responses to the question were again highly skewed, with 55% of the husbands and 54% of the wives indicating a response of 7 on the scale.

The third approach was to combine the response to five different questions regarding disagreements. The five questions were approached with the statement that most persons have problems in their relationships with their spouses. They were then asked how often in the past 12 months they have argued with their spouse about handling finances, demonstrations of affection, friends, work schedules, or relatives. Responses were coded on a scale of daily or almost daily (1) to never in the past twelve months (7). A reliability analysis of the composite scale of marital satisfaction achieved an acceptable level of significance (alpha=0.78449) and was thus used as a composite measure of marital satisfaction.

Individualism. It is very difficult to measure individualism directly, although a number of indirect measures were used. Respondents were asked to indicate on a 7-point scale how strongly they approved (7) or disapproved (1) of the following: (a) a married woman working if she has pre-school age children, and a husband capable of supporting her; (b) a married couple not bearing or rearing children; (c) a couple living together without being legally married; (d) two men or two women openly living together in a "marriage-like" relationship; and (e) a married person having sexual intercourse with someone else's spouse. An individual who strongly approved of the preceding situations was regarded as being high on individualism, while an individual who strongly disapproved, was regarded as low on individualism. Each of the five variables was first tested separately, and then the five variables were combined to produce a composite index of individualism. A reliability analysis of the composite scale of individualism achieved an acceptable level of significance (alpha=.75314) and can thus be used as a composite measure of individualism.

It might well be argued that the above scale is not a measurement of individualism at all, but is rather a measurement of conventionality or traditionalism. It is argued, however, that a person who displayed a high level of individualism would tend to be non-conventional or non-traditional. To the extent that this argument is true, this scale represents an indirect measure of individualism.

Marital violence. A direct measure of physical violence of one spouse against the other is unavailable in the data. Two variables (VAR373 for males and VAR737 for females) ask the question how often the respondent or spouse have insulted or sworn at the other, coded from daily or almost daily (1) to never in the past 12 months (7). Two additional variables (VAR374 for males and VAR738 for females) ask how often the respondent or spouse have stomped out of the room or house, coded the same as the previous variable. Eighty-four husbands (47%) and 85 wives (48%) indicated that they had insulted or sworn at their spouse. Sixty-five husbands (36%) and 83 wives (46%) indicated that either of them had stomped out of the room or house during the past year.

An indirect measure of general violence experienced (which may or may not include marital violence is secured by three related variables. The first asks the question whether the respondent has ever been punched or beaten by another person, with opportunity to respond yes or no. This variable was not measured in the SPOUSE questionnaire, and so is available only for the males in the sample. Ninety-two (51.4%) responded that they had been punched or beaten by another, 85 (47.5%) indicated they had not, and 2 individuals had no response. The second question asked if this happened to the individual as a child or as an adult, with 50 (28%) indicating it happened to them as a child, 27 (15%) indicating it happened to them as an adult, and 15

(8.4%) indicating they experienced this both as a child and as an adult. The third question asked how many times they had experienced this behavior, with 16 (9%) indicating once, 35 (20%) indicating two or three times, 32 (18%) indicating four times or more, and 9 (5%) responding they were not sure as to the number of times.

Interpersonal perception. This proposition was not derived from the review of the empirical research. The survey, however, does provide some extended information on interpersonal perception which is very appropriate for the analysis of interpersonal relationships, and which may provide some insights into differences in dyadic commitment. The measures of interpersonal perception are provided by responses to four statements:

1. My spouse helps me feel important.
2. My spouse seems to take me for granted.
3. I feel free to criticize my spouse.
4. Sometimes we can't work out our disagreements.

On a scale from 1 (strong disagreement) to 7 (strong agreement), respondents are asked to indicate how much they agree or disagree with the four statements by means of three questions for each statement:

1. What would you say? (In response to the statement).
2. What would your spouse say?
3. What would your spouse think you said?

Varying approaches could be taken to the analysis of these measures of perception (Larson, 1975). Perception was measured on three different levels, with one index of perception for the first level, and two indices for the second and third level respectively.

The first level of perception compares the husband's answer to the first question with the wife's answer to the first question. For each of the four statements, the wife's score is subtracted from the husband's score, thus creating four new variables with 7-point scales with absolute differences from 0 (husband and wife gave same response) to 6 (husband responded 7 and wife responded 1, or wife responded 7 and husband responded 1). A 5-point scale was created for each of the variables by recoding these absolute differences as follows: (1) a difference of 4, 5, or 6 between responses; (2) a difference of 3 between responses; (3) a difference of two between responses; (4) a difference of one between responses; (5) husband and wife gave the same response. An index summarizing the differences between the husband's response and the wife's response (HRWR INDEX) was created by combining the four new variables.

The second level of perception compares one spouse's response to the second question with the other spouse's response to the first question. The accuracy of the husband's perception is measured by asking him to indicate how his spouse would respond to a particular statement, and then comparing this to his spouse's actual response. An additional four variables are created by subtracting the wife's response for each of the four statements from the corresponding response of the husband. The 7-point scale is again recoded to a 5-point scale as above. An index measuring the accuracy of the husband's perception of his wife's response (HPWR INDEX) was created by combining the four newly created variables. A similar index of the accuracy of the wife's perception of her husband's response (WPHR INDEX) was created by measuring the absolute differences between the wife's perception of her husband's response and his actual response on the four statements.

The third level of perception measures the difference between one spouse's response to question 3 and the other spouse's response to question 2, and an index measuring the accuracy of interpersonal perception was created for husband and wife respectively. The first measures the accuracy of the husband's interpersonal perception (HIP INDEX) by comparing his response to the third question with his wife's response to the second question. Differences were calculated for each of the four statements, and the four new variables which resulted were recoded to a 5-point scale, and combined to create the new index. A similar procedure was followed to create the index measuring the accuracy of the wife's interpersonal perception (WIP INDEX).

Common social affiliations. A measure of common social affiliations of spouses does not exist in the data. There are a number of indirect measures of social affiliations. The first is a question regarding the number of adults in this neighborhood the respondent would know by name if s/he met them on the street, with responses ranging from none (1) to all of them (7). The second question asks how often the respondent got together with any of these neighbours just for a chat during the past 12 months, and responses ranged from daily or almost daily (1) to never in the past 12 months (7). The question which provides the best measure of common social affiliations asks how often in the past 12 months the respondent spent a social evening with friends who live outside the neighbourhood, either in his/her home or in theirs. Responses were coded on a scale from 1 (daily or almost daily) to 7 (never in the past 12 months). Thirty-nine percent of both males and females indicated a frequency of once a month or less, 49% of the males and 51% of the females indicated a frequency of from once a week to several times a month, and 12% of the males and 13% of the females indicated a frequency of more often than once a week.

Kinship ties. This variable is measured by responses to the question, "In the past 12 months, how often did you spend a social evening with relatives?" Responses were coded from daily or almost daily (1) to never in the past 12 months (7). Twenty-eight percent of the husbands and 30% of the wives indicated they did so from never to several times in the past 12 months. Forty percent of the husbands and 41% of the wives indicated that they visited socially with relatives from once a month to several times a month. Thirty-one percent of the husbands and 29% of the wives indicated such visits from once a week to daily or almost daily.

A second measure of this variable is secured in answer to the question how often the respondent takes care of keeping in touch with relatives, with responses coded the same as the previous question. Twenty percent of the husbands and 7% of the wives indicated they took care of keeping in touch from never to several times in 12 months. Thirty-six percent of the husbands and 33% of the wives indicated that they kept in touch from once a month to several times a month. Forty-three percent of the husbands and 60% of the wives indicated they did so from once a week to daily or almost daily.

Previous divorce The respondent was asked how many times they had ever been divorced (VAR080 and VAR494). Responses were coded from never to three or more times. One hundred seventy husbands (95%) and 160 wives (89%) indicated that they had never been divorced. Six husbands (3.4%) and 17 wives (9.5%) indicated they had been divorced once, and 1 husband (0.6%) and 1 wife (0.6%) indicated they had been divorced twice. Two husbands and 1 wife refused to respond to the question.

Religious affiliation. Answers to the question regarding religious preference were coded into 17 different categories. These were then recoded into 5 major categories.

Those who indicated they had no religious affiliation (16.8% of the husbands and 11.7% of the wives) were coded in a separate category. Those affiliated with mainline churches (27.4% of the husbands and 29.6% of the wives), including Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and United Church, were coded in a second category. Those indicating conservative religious affiliation (5.3% of the husbands and 7.3% of the wives), and including Baptist, Mennonite, Mormon, Pentecostal, and Salvation Army, were coded in a third category. The fourth category included all Catholics (Greek, Roman, and Ukranian) and was composed of 24.6% of the sample of males and 26.3% of the sample of females. The balance of the sample (22.9% of the husbands and 22.8% of the wives) was placed in a fifth category which included Protestant unspecified, Christian unspecified, Jewish and other. Five husbands (2.8%) and 4 wives (2.2%) provided no response to the question regarding religious affiliation. The dependent variables measuring personal and structural commitment were then broken down (subprogram breakdown) in order to compare the means of the five categories. The means for structural commitment showed a similar pattern for both husbands and wives in terms of the order of religious groupings. Those having no religious affiliation had the lowest structural commitment, affiliation with mainline churches was second, those classified as other were third, Catholics were fourth, and those indicating conservative religious affiliation had the highest structural commitment. Personal commitment showed a different pattern both for religious groupings as well as for husbands and wives. For husbands, the mean for personal commitment from lowest to highest is conservative, mainline, Catholic, none, other. For females, the order from lowest to highest is mainline, Catholic, conservative, none, other.

A further examination of the means demonstrated that the mean of those who were placed in the "other" category closely approximated the mean for the entire sample, and also showed the greatest amount of variance, indicating that this category fell into no particular pattern. These individuals were therefore removed from the sample. Program breakdown was again employed in order to provide a comparison of means of the dependent variables as broken down by the religious preference of the husbands and the wives. The same pattern emerged as previously.

Religious participation. Religious participation was measured by responses to the question: "How many times did you attend church in the last four weeks?" Responses indicated that 111 males (62%) and 99 females (55%) had not attended church during the past four weeks. Thirty-one males (17%) and 37 females (21%) had attended church less often than once a week, on the average. Twenty-one males (12%) and 29 females (16%) had attended church once a week, on the average. Sixteen males (9%) and 14 females (8%) had attended church more than once a week, on the average.

Liberal divorce laws. No direct measure of this proposition is possible since all of the respondents are residents of Edmonton and consequently are subject to the same divorce laws. One of the questions in the survey, however, asked how strongly the respondent generally approved or disapproved of making divorce laws tougher. Answers were coded on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 indicating strong disapproval, and 7 indicating strong approval.

Presence of children. The measure of the presence of children is provided by the question of how many children live in the household in question. Eighty-three households (46%) had no children living in them, and 96 households (54%) had from 1 to 4 children living there.

Pre-school children. The construction of a variable indicating the presence of pre-school children was rather complex, utilizing nine different variables. VAR017 provided information regarding the number of children in the household, and indicated that 83 households (46%) had no children, 51 (29%) had one child, 34 (19%) had two children, 10 (6%) had 3 children, and 1 (0.6%) had 4 children. VAR026, VAR029, VAR032 and VAR035 provided information regarding the age of the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th member of the household, which included the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th child respectively, but also included mothers, fathers, other relatives of the parents as well as friend-boarders.

Consequently, relationship of members 3, 4, 5, and 6 to the respondent had to be used as controls. A new variable was then created with three categories: the first being those respondents with no children in the household; the second including respondents who had children at home, but no pre-school children; and the third including respondents with one or more pre-school children in the household.

Number of children. The number of children was constructed by combining two variables: number of boys had and number of girls had. A separate variable was created for husbands and wives because the numbers would differ for those who had children by a previous marriage. Fifty-two husbands (29.1%) and 47 wives (26.3%) had no children. Twenty-eight husbands (15.6%) and 36 wives (20.1%) had only one child. Forty-six husbands (25.7%) and 47 wives (26.3%) had two children. Twenty-seven husbands (15.1%) and 27 wives (15.1%) had three children. Fourteen husbands (7.8%) and 11 wives (6.1%) had four children. Ten husbands (5.6%) and 11 wives (6.1%) had from five to seven children. Two husbands provided no response to the question. A further question was asked as to how many children the respondent desired. This variable was used as a control on the number of children had. It is interesting to note that 85 males (47.5%) and 75 females (41.9%) had desired no children.

Duration of marriage. The duration of marriage was calculated by subtracting the individual's age at marriage from his/her current age. Sixty-one males (34.5%) and 59 females (33.5%) were in their current marriage for 5 years or less. Fifty percent of the males and 51% of the females were in their current relationship for 10 years or less. Approximately 27% of the males and 24% of the females were in their current relationship for more than 25 years.

E. Analysis of Data

Because this is an exploratory study, a number of different approaches to data analysis were employed. Many of the independent variables had to be constructed individually (e.g., relative age, relative education, age at first marriage), using data available in the survey, but which was not organized according to the particular interests of this study. Frequencies of all independent variables were then secured.

Three composite measures of the dependent variable were created for this study (personal commitment, structural commitment, and overall commitment, which is a summation of personal and structural commitment). The relationship between these variables is indicated in Table 4.3. Overall commitment is significantly related to both personal (r=.2623, p=.000) and structural commitment (r=.8751, p=.000). There is a non-significant negative relationship between personal and structural commitment. Essentially, overall commitment is a reflection of structural commitment, and consequently was left out of further analyses.

TABLE 4.3 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DEPENDENT VARIABLES

	VAR928		VAR929		VAR930		VARIABLE NAME
	r	p	r	p	r	p	
VAR928	1.0000		.2623	.000	.8751	.000	Overall Commitment
VAR929			1.0000		-.0076	.462	Personal Commitment
VAR930					1.0000		Structural Commitment

Correlations were run between all independent variables and with the dependent variables. A listing of variable names and of the above correlations and significance level is included in Appendix 4.5. Because most of the propositions are based on data collected from only one family member, the findings based on individual family members are reported to provide consistent data comparisons.

An examination of the relationships between predictor variables and commitment indicates that only 11 of the 62 independent variables examined are significantly related to personal commitment. This is a surprising finding, and might be taken to suggest that the majority of those variables which have consistently predicted marital stability are not related to commitment. In contrast, however, 32 of the independent variables are related to structural commitment. The discussion of the measurement of the dependent variable points out that although the personal commitment scale did not achieve an acceptable level of alpha, it was decided to use it for other theoretical and methodological reasons. It is apparent, however, that it does not provide a strong, consistent measure of personal commitment. It is evident that the personal commitment variables were not well formulated or operationalized.

Where relations were obviously non-linear, or where the findings were unexpected, a breakdown analysis of the dependent variable by categories of the independent variables was used in order to provide clarification of the nature of the relationship between variables. It should be noted that the majority of the breakdown analyses are measures of personal commitment. Though most of these relationships are non-significant, they are nevertheless important for theoretical reasons. These relationships are generally in the predicted direction, and are therefore reported in the data analysis. The findings should not be regarded as establishing clear trends, particularly in the case of non-significant relationships. Since the concern is with dyadic commitment, breakdowns were also done by sex in order to compare similarities and/or differences between spouses. Subprogram breakdown provides a technique for examining the means and variances of a dependent variable among various subgroups in a sample. It provides output for the sum, mean, standard deviation, variance, and number of cases of each subgroup in the population. Statistical options are a one-way analysis of variance, which allows the user to test whether the means of the subsamples are significantly different from each other; and a test of linearity (linear trend test) to determine if the relationship between the dependent and the independent variables is a linear relationship. It also provides the Pearson r statistic, which is a measure of the goodness of fit of the regression line to the data, the r^2 statistic which is a measure of the proportion of variance in the dependent variable that is linearly explained by the independent variable, and the eta-squared statistic which is a measure of the total (linear and non-linear) variance that is explained by the independent variable (Nie _et_ _al_., 1975).

This study provided data from both spouses (179 couples) for most of the propositions which were tested. Olson and McCubbin argue that in marriage and family studies it is considered essential to have scores that describe the couple as a unit in order to take account of the differing perceptions within the family. Where there is a high level of agreement between spouses, it could be expected that there would be little divergence between data reported for husband or wife individually, and data reported for husband and wife as a couple.

Szinovacz (1983) compares an aggregate measurement of marital violence with couple data, and concludes that aggregate data (which is data based on husbands and wives from _different_ marriages) may eliminate distortions due to the reliance on only one sex, but they cannot replace or serve as a substitute for couple data (data based on husbands and wives from the same marriage).

To determine the amount of agreement between spouses, analysis was done across spouses on those variables for which it was possible and appropriate to make such comparisons. Table 4.4 summarizes the correlations between spouses on the measured variables. Of the 19 correlations reported, 8 (42%) were below the .5 level. The income of the husband is negatively correlated with the income of his wife (r=-.0254, NS).

A number of approaches can be taken to the measurement of couple scores. The pioneering work in this area was done by Olson and McCubbin (1983:271) who developed a number of different couple scores for their studies: couple mean scores, couple discrepancy scores, positive couple agreement scores, and couple distance scores.

The first two of these methods were used in the present study. The couple mean score is calculated by adding the husband and wife scores, and dividing the result by two. Olson and McCubbin (1983:271) argue that couple mean scores ideally represent the couple as a unit both conceptually and empirically. This is particularly true when husband and wife scores are similar. If these scores are different, however, the couple mean score eliminates those differences and gives a distorted picture of husband and wife differences. Olson and McCubbin suggest a correlation of at least .50 between

TABLE 4.4 SPOUSAL CORRELATIONS ON INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

PROPOSITION	VARIABLE MEASURED	r
1	Age of spouses	.9601
2	Age at first marriage	.5071
3	Educational level (school level completed)	.5549
	Educational level (number of years)	.5832
4	Female graduate school education	-
5	Wife employment	-
6	Religious preference (17 categories)	.7396
7	Income	-.0254
8	Happiness in relationship	.4319
	Satisfaction with family life	.4329
9	Individualism scale	-
10	Either insulted or swore at each other	.4947
	Either stomped out of room or house	.4380
11	Interpersonal perception index	-
12	Neighbourhood adults known by name	.6443
	Frequency of chat with neighbours	.4374
	Spend social evening with friends	.5696
13	Spend social evening with relatives	.6409
14	Number of times divorced	.1584
	Number of times married	.6590
15	Religious affiliation (see #6)	-
16	Religious participation	.9138
17	Tougher divorce laws	.2342
18	Presence of children	-
19	Presence of pre-school age children	-
20	Number of children	.8391
21	Duration of marriage	-

husband and wife scores may be appropriate for the use of couple mean scores. In cases of high discrepancy it may be more appropriate to use individual scores for each spouse.

The couple discrepancy score is calculated by subtracting the wife's score from the husband's, and changing this to an absolute value. This score is complementary to the couple mean score since the couple mean score conceals individual differences between husband and wife, whereas the couple discrepancy score highlights those differences.

A third measure not used by Olson and McCubbin was utilized in this study. This approach divides each of the variables at the approximate median point. Four categories are then developed: both husband and wife above the median; both below; husband above, wife below; and husband below, wife above.

The final approach to data analysis was the use of multiple regression. The application of multiple regression analysis to the data permits the prediction or estimation of a single dependent variable from any number of independent variables. This is done through multiple correlation, which indicates how much of the total variation in the dependent variable can be explained by all of the independent variables acting together, as well as by partial correlation, which measures the contribution of each independent variable to variation in the dependent variable, when the effects of the other independent variables have been controlled (Blalock, 1972: 449). Multiple regression techniques permit us to obtain a prediction equation that indicates how scores on the independent variables can be weighted and summed to obtain the best possible prediction of the dependent variable for the sample. Statistics are also provided that indicate how accurate the prediction equation is, and how much of the variation in the dependent variable is accounted for by the joint linear influences of the independent variables (Nie _et_ _al_., 1975:321).

The use of multiple regression techniques assumes that random sampling has been used for data selection, that variables are measured on interval or ratio scales, and that the relationships among the variables are linear and additive (Kim & Kohout, 1975a). The 1980 Edmonton Area Sample utilized random selection in the determination of individuals selected for the sample. All variables utilized in the regression analysis were measured on at least an ordinal scale. Where the relationship between the dependent and independent variables was found to be non-linear, such independent variables were not included in the multiple regression analysis.

Multiple regression analysis was used to estimate the contribution of relevant independent variables to both personal commitment and structural commitment. The method used in the multiple regression equation is stepwise regression in which variables are examined at each step for entry or removal.

V. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This study examined how the empirical correlates of marital stability were related to measures of marital commitment. A total of 27 first order propositions related to dyadic commitment were isolated, of which 21 could be tested with the data in the 1980 Edmonton Area Survey.

A visual summary of significant relationships between independent variables and the two dependent variables of personal and structural commitment is provided by Table 5.1. This indicates that there are four variables (male level of education, male satisfaction with family life, male religious participation, and female religious participation) which are significantly related to both personal and structural commitment. An additional six variables are significantly related to personal commitment only, and an additional twenty-five variables are significantly related to structural commitment only.

A. Specific Findings Related to Propositions

This section will review the individual propositions, and the support found for these propositions in the data. Since most of the propositions are based on data utilizing only one family member, this study will report findings based on individual family members in order to provide consistent data comparisons. Because the focus of this study is on marital commitment, and because data are available from both spouses, data analysis will also utilize couple

TABLE 5.1 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PREDICTOR VARIABLES AND COMMITMENT

PROP		DESCRIPTION	PERS. COMMIT.	STRUC. COMMIT.
I. PREDISPOSING BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS				
Prop	1	Age Differences Between Spouses		
	1.1	Age of Husband	-.08	.29***
	1.2	Age of Wife	-.05	.28***
	1.3	Absolute Age Differences	-.01	-.05
Prop	2	Age at First Marriage		
	2.1	Husband	.02	.11
	2.2	Wife	.04	.09
Prop	3	Differences in Educ. Level	.05	.07
Prop	4	Grad. School Educ. of Wife		
Prop	5	Employment of Wife	.09	.27***
Prop	6	Religious Homogamy	.05	.12
Prop	7	Socioeconomic Variables		
	7.1	Level of Income: H	.23***	.01
	7.2	Level of Income: W	-.05	-.03
	7.3	Level of Education: H	.31***	-.16*
	7.4	Level of Education: W	.20**	-.06
	7.5	Years of Schooling: H	.24***	-.14*
	7.6	Years of Schooling: W	.21**	-.03
	7.7	Social Class Perception	-.01	.03
	7.8	Socioeconomic Index	.25***	-.03
II TOTAL INTERACTION REWARD/ TENSION BALANCE				
Prop	8	Quality of Relationships		
	8.1	Satisfaction With Family Life: H	-.19**	.29***
	8.2	Satisfaction With Family Life: W	.05	.41***
	8.3	Happiness in Relationship: H	-.10	.19**
	8.4	Happiness in Relationship: W	-.03	.31***
	8.5	Marital Satisfaction Index	.05	.28***
Prop	9	Individualism	.08	-.48***

TABLE 5.1 continued

PROP	DESCRIPTION	PERS. COMMIT.	STRUC. COMMIT.
Prop 10	Marital Violence		
10.1	Insulted or Swore: H Report	.06	.30***
10.2	Insulted or Swore: W Report	.02	.23**
10.3	Stomped Out: H Report	.02	.27***
10.4	Stomped Out: W Report	.08	.15*
10.5	Punched or Beaten	.05	-.03
10.6	Punched/Beaten as Child/Adult	-.01	-.08
10.7	Number of Times Punched/Beaten	-.01	.12
Prop 11	Interpersonal Perception		
11.1	HRWR Index	-.06	-.04
11.2	HPWR Index	-.12	-.04
11.3	WPHR Index	-.11	-.08
11.4	HIP Index	-.15*	.05
11.5	WIP Index	-.07	-.06
III NORMATIVE CONSTRAINTS			
Prop 12	Social Affiliations		
12.1	Neighbourhood Adults Known: H	-.06	.21**
12.2	Neighbourhood Adults Known: W	.05	.10
12.3	Chat With Neighbours: H	.08	-.07
12.4	Chat With Neighbours: W	.05	-.13*
12.5	Social Visits With Friends: H	-.02	.03
12.6	Social Visits With Friends: W	-.12	.04
12.7	Length of Residence in Dwelling	-.01	.16*
12.8	Length of Residence in Edmonton	-.01	.19**
Prop 13	Kinship Ties		
13.1	Social Visits With Relatives: H	.01	-.08
13.2	Social Visits With Relatives: W	.01	-.11
13.3	Keep in Touch With Relatives: H	.03	-.03
13.4	Keep in Touch With Relatives: W	.10	-.02
Prop 14	Effect of Divorce		
14.1	Number of Times Divorced: H	-.01	-.01
14.2	Number of Times Divorced: W	-.01	-.20**
14.3	Number of Times Married: H	-.11	-.37***
14.4	Number of Times Married: W	-.01	-.43***
Prop 15	Religious Affiliation		
15.1	Religious Affiliation: H	-.05	.30***
15.2	Religious Affiliation: W	.02	.24***
Prop 16	Religious Participation		
16.1	Religious Participation: H	.27***	.25***
16.2	Religious Participation: W	.22**	.28***

TABLE 5.1 continued

PROP	DESCRIPTION	PERS. COMMIT.	STRUC. COMMIT.
IV EXTERNAL CONSTRAINTS			
Prop 17	Tougher Divorce Laws		
17.1	Approval Husband	.02	.34***
17.2	Approval Wife	.01	.17*
Prop 18	Presence of Children	.10	.03
Prop 19	Age of Children	.13*	.01
Prop 20	Number of Children		
20.1	Number of Children: H	-.01	.14*
20.2	Number of Children: W	-.03	.17*
Prop 21	Duration of Marriage		
21.1	Husbands	-.07	.29***
21.2	Wives	-.07	.31***

measures of relationship where possible and appropriate.

Proposition 1. Age differences between spouses are inversely related to marital commitment.

Individual data. Before examining the relationship between age differences and marital commitment, the possible impact of age itself on marital commitment was examined. No relationship was found between personal commitment and either the age of the male (r=-.0801) or the age of the female (r=-.0519). A fairly strong positive relationship is found, however, between structural commitment and the age of the male (r=.2868, p=.000) and between structural commitment and the age of the female (r=.2777), p=.000). This indicates that structural commitment increases with an increase in the age of either male or female.

Couple data. Age differences between spouses can be measured in several different ways. The first approach is simply to measure the absolute age differences between spouses. No relationships are found between absolute age differences of spouses and either personal commitment (r=-.0104) or structural commitment (r=-.0528). An examination of the breakdown of the relationship between absolute age differences and personal commitment and between absolute age differences and structural commitment reveals no clear pattern even when the relationship is broken down by sex.

Proposition 2. Age at first marriage is positively related to marital commitment.

Individual data. No significant relationships were found for either males or females between age at first marriage and the measures of marital commitment, but the relationship between male age at first marriage and structural commitment approaches significance (r=.1056, p=.089).

When age at first marriage is broken down by decade, however, some interesting patterns emerge (Figure 5.1). For both males and females, first marriage before the age of 20 is associated with low levels of personal commitment (m=2.46 for females and 2.56 for males). Personal commitment reaches its highest point for both males (m=3.23) and females (m=3.42) married between the ages of 30 to 39, and reaches its lowest point for both males (m=2.25) and females (m=2.33) married after the age of 50 (see Appendix 5.1). It should be noted that only 4 males and 5 females experienced their first marriage after the age of 40, when strong emotional attachments would be expected to be somewhat less important than at earlier ages. For the rest of the sample, lower levels of personal commitment tend to be associated with early age at first marriage, but this relationship does not achieve significance.

The relationship between age at first marriage (broken down by decades) and structural commitment is very different for males and females (Figure 5.2). Males married before the age of 20 demonstrate the lowest level of structural

FIGURE 5.1 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

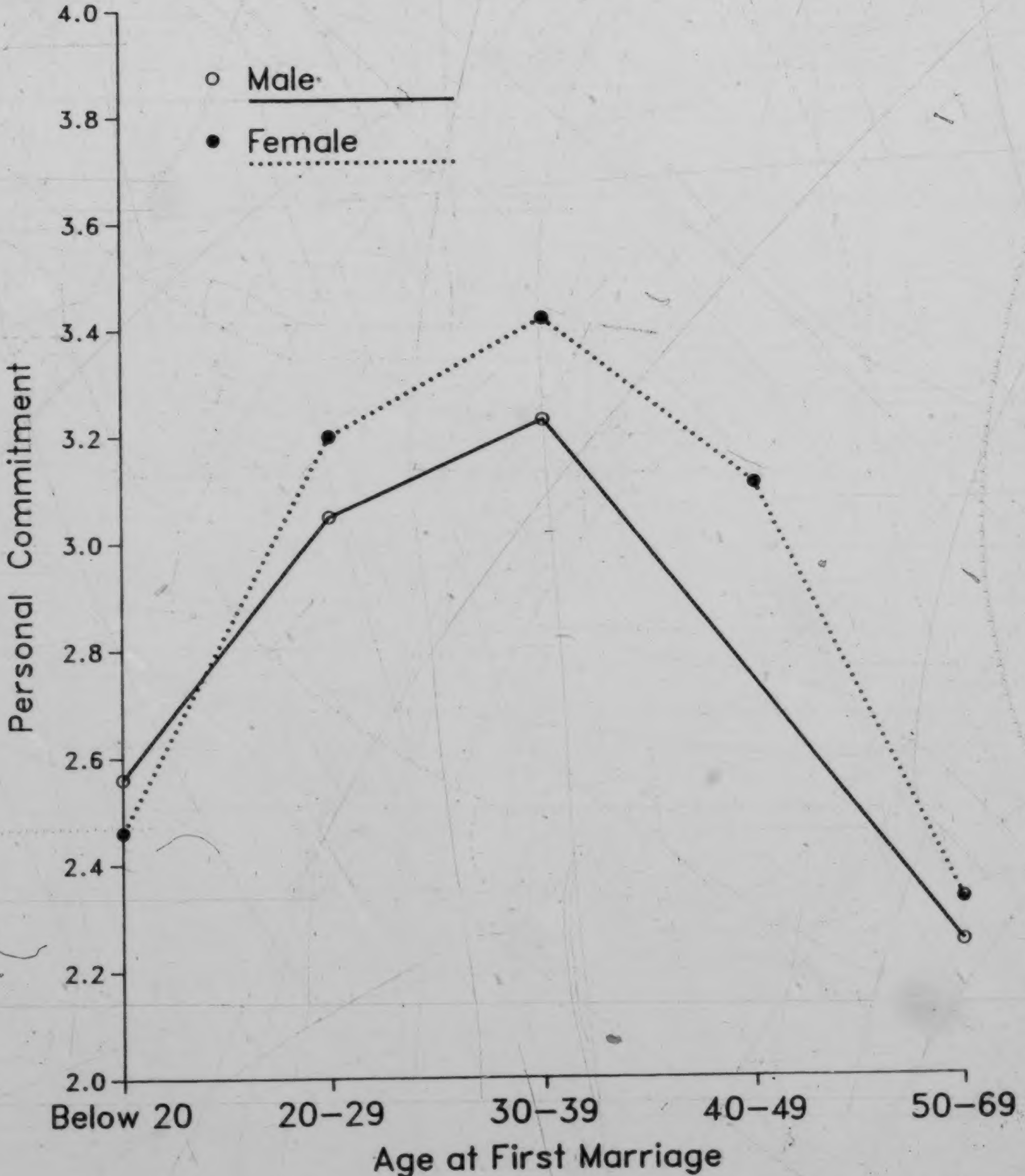
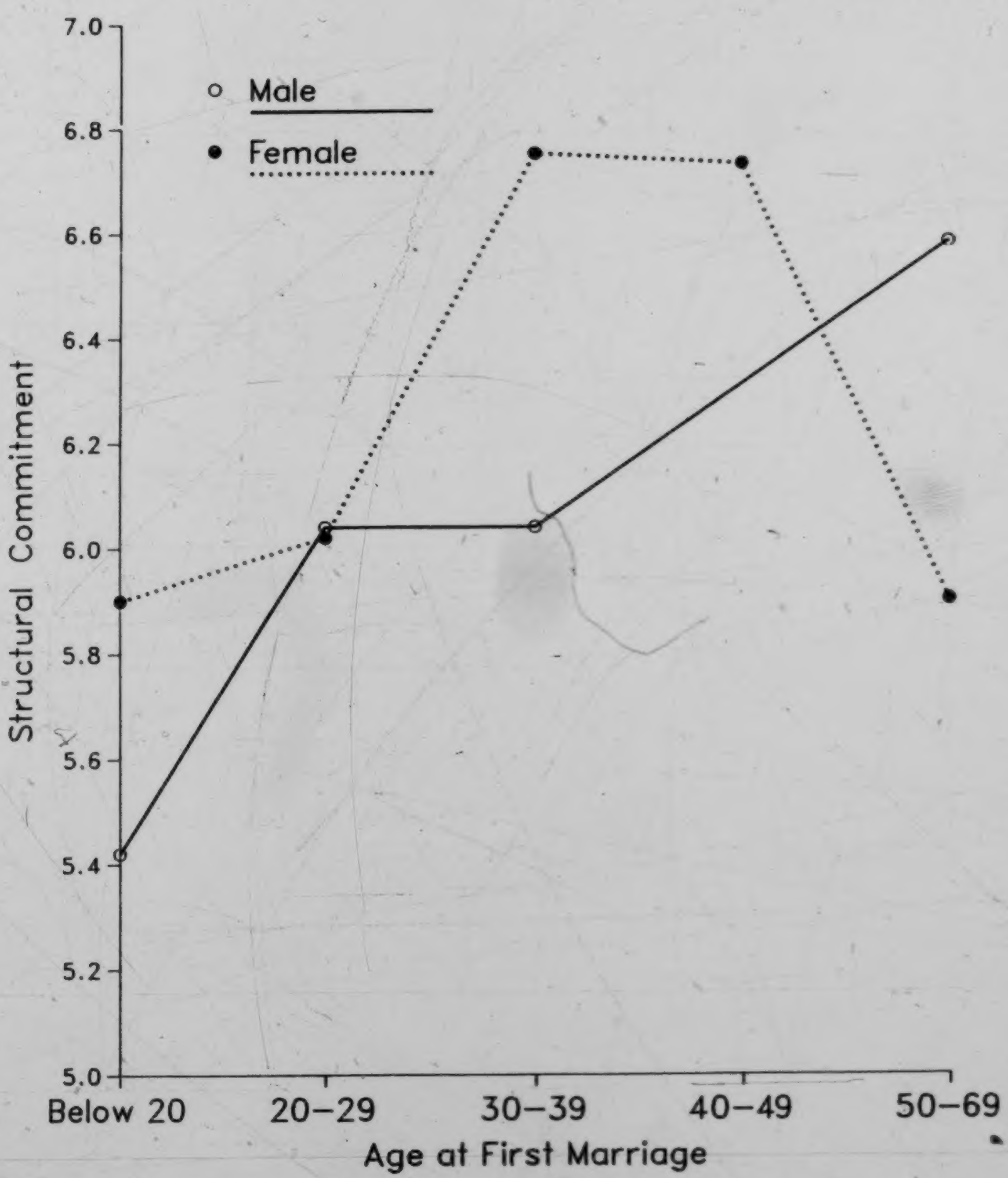


FIGURE 5.2 BREAKDOWN OF STRUCTURAL COMMIT~~MENT BY AGE~~ AT FIRST MARRIAGE



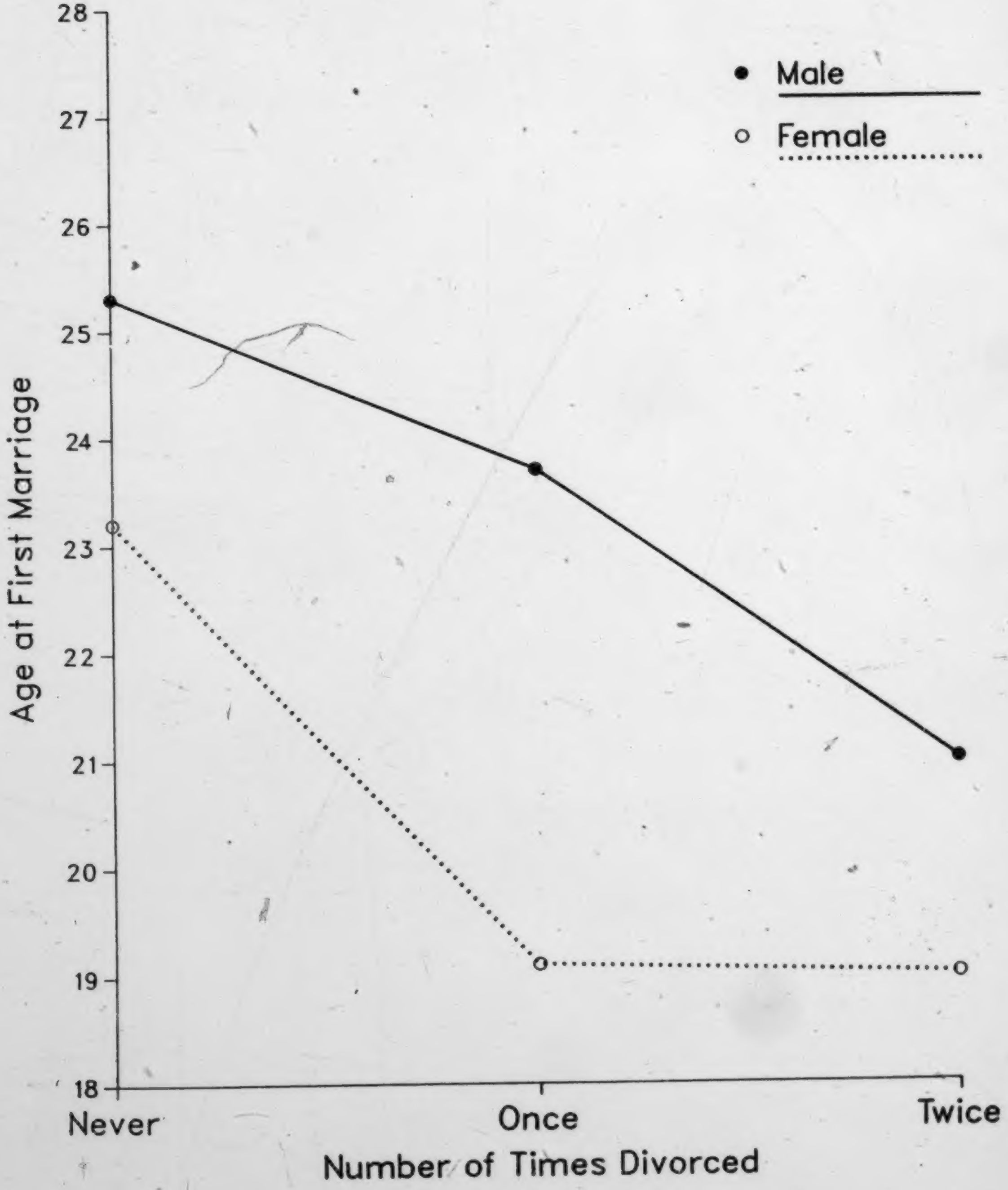
commitment (m=5.42), which then rises to its highest point for those males married for the first time after the age of 50 (m=6.58). This represents a fairly consistent linear trend which almost achieves significance (F=2.477, at .06 level of significance). Females married before the age of 20 demonstrate a somewhat higher level of structural commitment (m=5.90) than males married before the age of 20 (m=5.42). Structural commitment increases to its highest point for females married between the ages of 30 to 39 (m=6.75) and 40 to 49 (m=6.73), then decreases dramatically for those married for the first time at 50 or older (N=3, m=5.90), which is the same level as those married before the age of 20. Because of the small number of those married for the first time after the age of 40, no clear interpretations can be made. Apart from these cases, structural commitment tends to increase with an increase in the age at first marriage.

Another measure of the relationship between age at first marriage and commitment is provided by the variables which indicate the number of times the respondent has been divorced. No relationship is found between male age at first marriage and the number of times the male has been divorced (r=-.0713, p=.174) although the relationship is in the predicted direction, indicating that early marriage is more likely to be associated with divorce. A fairly strong relationship is found between female age at first marriage and the number of times the female has been divorced (r=-.1981, p=.004). Females who marry at an early age are much more likely to be divorced. The weaker relationship between male age at first marriage and divorce may be accounted for by the fact that our sample includes fewer males (7) than females (17) who have experienced divorce.

When the criterion variable of age at first marriage is broken down by the number of times divorced, the following pattern is observed (Figure 5.3). This figure shows that those who have not been divorced have tended to marry at a later age than those who experience divorce. The mean age at first marriage for those who have not been divorced is 25.3 years for males and 23.2 years for females. The mean age for males who have experienced divorce is 23.7 for those who have been divorced once (6 persons) and 21 for the one male who was divorced twice (F=.450, NS). The differentiation for females is much clearer, with the mean age at first marriage dropping from 23.2 for those who have never been divorced to 19.1 for those divorced once (16 persons) and remaining at the same level for the one female divorced twice (F=3.720, p=.03).

Couple data. The first measurement of age at first marriage using couple data is the average age of the couple at first marriage. Thus, if the husband's age at first marriage was 24 and the wife's age at first marriage was 20, the average age of the couple at first marriage was 22. There is no relationship between the average age of the couple at first marriage and personal commitment (r=.0487). The relationship between the average age of the couple at

FIGURE 5.3 BREAKDOWN OF AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE BY TIMES DIVORCED



first marriage and structural commitment approaches significance (r=.1150, p=.073), indicating that structural commitment increases as the average age of the couple at first marriage increases.

The second measurement of age at first marriage utilizing couple data is a measurement of the absolute differences in the age at first marriage of the husband and the age at first marriage of the wife. No relationships are found between the absolute differences in ages at first marriage and either personal commitment (r=.0771) or structural commitment (r=-.0439).

> Proposition 3. Large spousal differences in educational level are inversely related to marital commitment, particularly when the female has a higher educational level than the male.

Individual data. Before examining the relationship between spousal differences in educational level and marital commitment, the possible impact of education itself on marital commitment was examined. Two measures of education are provided for both males and females: level of education of respondent and of spouse, and years of schooling of respondent and of spouse.

Educational level of respondent and spouse is measured by eleven categories, beginning with no schooling and ending with a professional degree or doctorate. The educational level of the male is positively related to personal commitment (r=.3131, p=.000), and negatively related to structural commitment (r=-.1552, p=.023). In contrast, the educational level of the female is positively related to personal commitment (r=.2022, p=.004), but not significantly related to structural commitment (r=-.0567, p=.234).

When level of education is measured by years of schooling of both husband and wife, a similar pattern emerges. Years of schooling for the husband is positively related to personal commitment (r=.2346, p=.001), and negatively related to structural commitment (r=-.1360, p=.041). Years of schooling for the female is positively related to personal commitment (r=.2312, p=.002), but not significantly related to structural commitment (r=-.0258, p=.371).

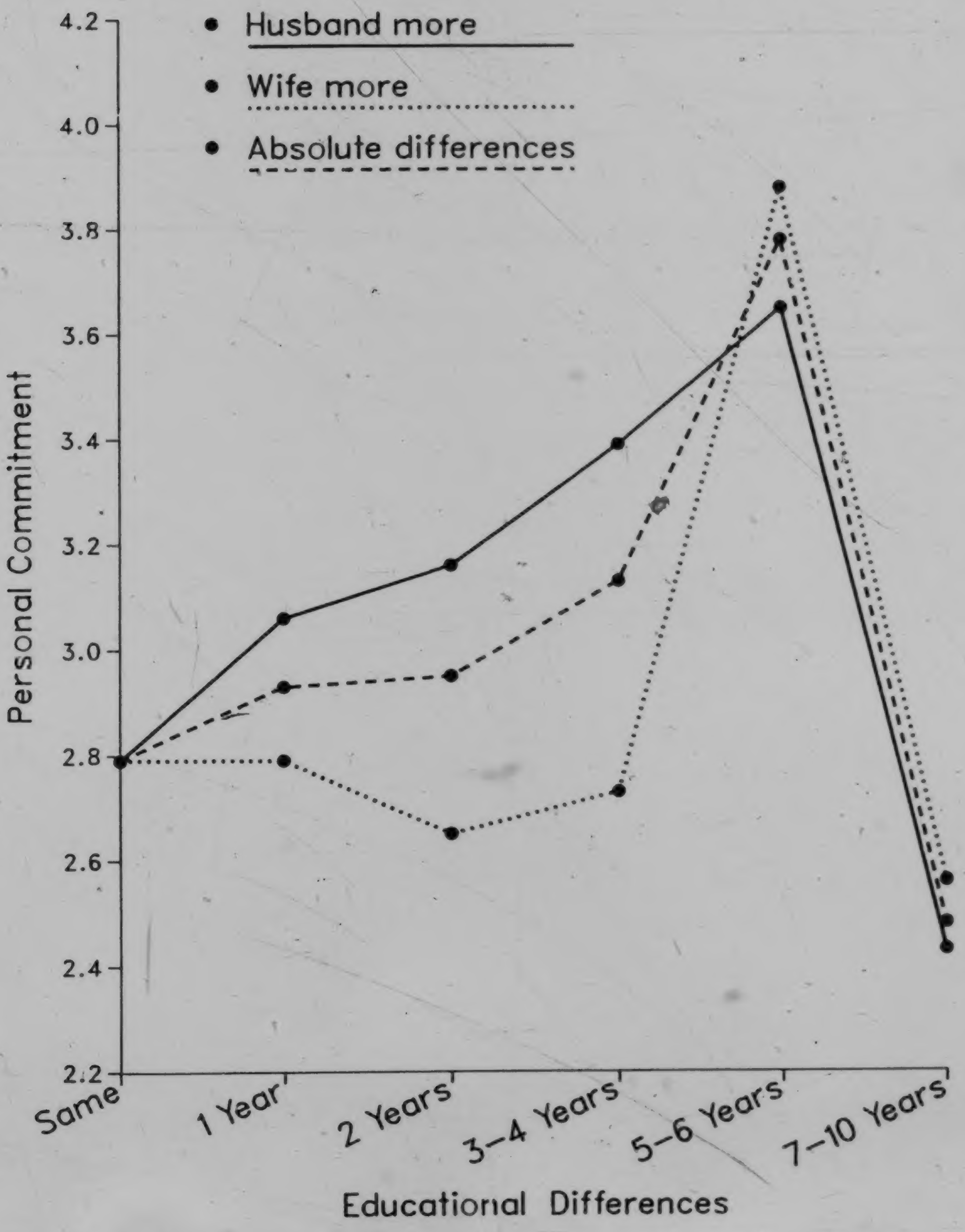
Couple data. When the couple mean is used in the measurement of couple data, there is a positive relationship between level of education and personal commitment (r=.2929, p=.000), and between years of schooling and personal commitment (r=.2513, p=.000). This simply supports the positive relationship found for both males and females between personal commitment and both level of education and years of schooling.

When education is measured in terms of absolute differences between husband and wife, however, the relationship between educational level and personal commitment (r=-.0532, p=.244), and that between years of schooling and personal commitment (r=.0457, p=.276) become non-significant. In other words, as educational differences between husband and wife increase, personal commitment tends to become relatively weaker.

A more detailed breakdown of the pattern of relationships between absolute educational differences (as measured by years of schooling) and personal commitment (Figure 5.4) indicates a similar pattern to that between age differences and personal commitment. As absolute educational differences between husband and wife increase, personal commitment also increases, reaching a maximum level when a difference in education of 5-6 years is found. After this point, however, personal commitment decreases dramatically with further increases in educational differences (see Appendix 5.2).

When educational differences are broken down by sex, however, a somewhat different pattern emerges for husbands and wives (Figure 5.4). As the husband's education increases relative to that of his wife, there is a corresponding increase in personal commitment, reaching a maximum when the husband has 5-6 years more education than his wife (m=3.65), and declining rapidly when he has 7-10 years more schooling (m=2.43). In contrast, as the wife's education increases relative to that of her husband, personal commitment remains fairly constant or declines slightly to a difference of 3-4 years. There is a dramatic rise when the wife has 5-6 years more education (m=3.88) and a dramatic drop when the wife has 7-10 years more education (m=2.56), but since the number of cases are small (8 and 4 respectively), and since the differences are not significant, the findings should be

FIGURE 5.4 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES



treated with caution.

In general, we can conclude that personal commitment increases slightly with an increase in the level of the husband's education relative to that of his wife, and tends to show little change with an increase in the wife's education relative to that of her husband. This finding is in keeping with the normative expectation in our society that the husband will normally be the breadwinner, and hence is required to have a higher level of education than his wife.

In summary, no significant relationship is found between educational *differences* and commitment. There does appear to be limited support for the finding (Bumpass & Sweet, 1972) that large educational differences do create marital instability as a result of a decrease in personal commitment. It was predicted that this would be particularly true when the wife had more education than her husband, which is not borne out by the data since personal commitment is higher when the wife has 7-10 more years of education (m=2.56) than when the husband has 7-10 more years of education (m=2.43). This finding must be treated with some caution because of the small numbers involved.

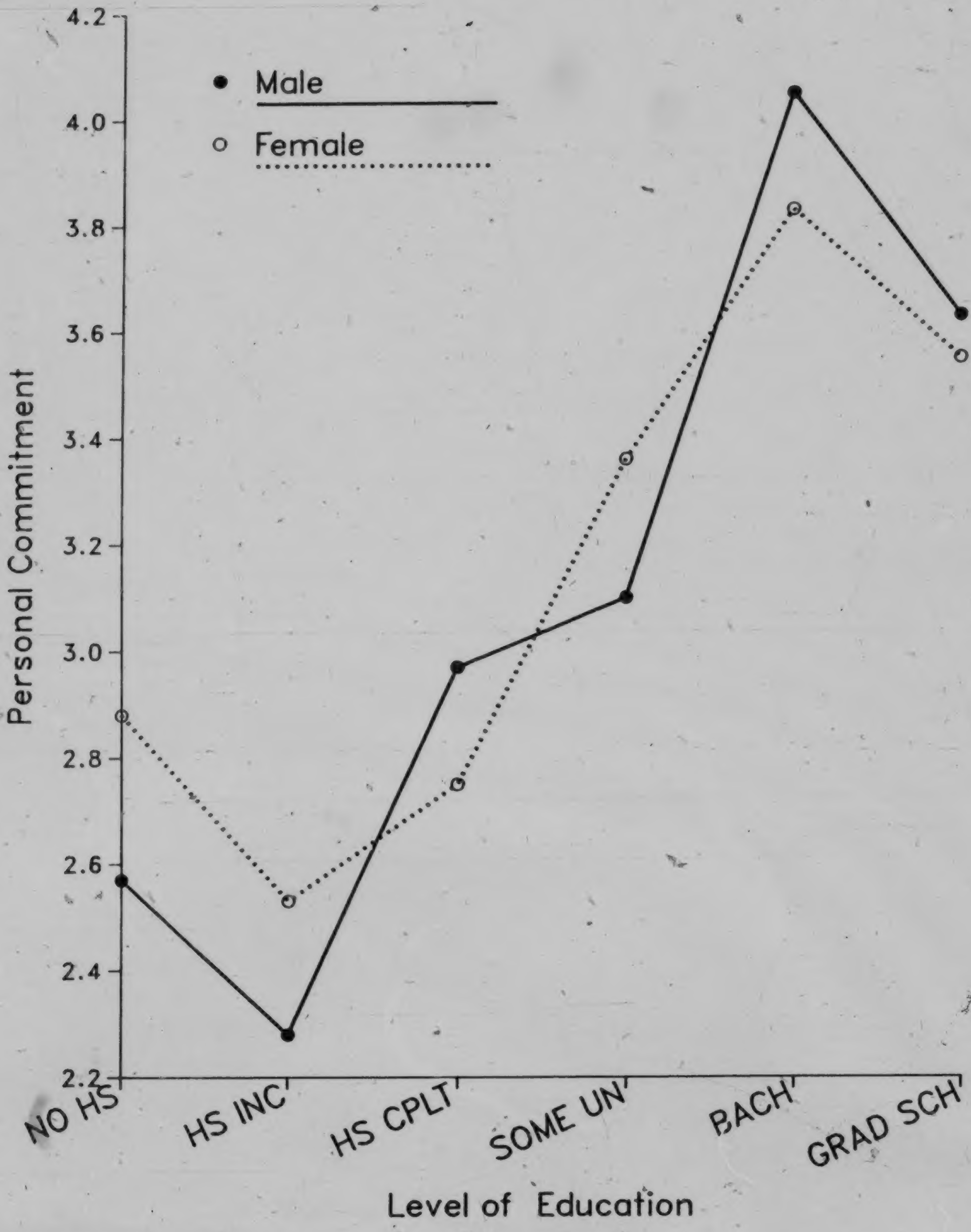
> Proposition 4. Among women, graduate school education is inversely related to marital commitment.

Individual data. A strong positive correlation is found between female level of education and personal commitment (r=.2022, p=.004), but no relationship is found between female level of education and structural commitment (r=-.0567,N.S.).

A breakdown of the pattern of relationship between female level of education and personal commitment (Figure 5.5) reveals that personal commitment increases with an increase in educational level, with two exceptions. The first exception is that personal commitment is lower for those who have not completed high school (m=2.53) than for those who have not even attended high school (m=2.88). The second exception is the decrease in personal commitment for those females at a graduate level (m=3.56) compared to those with only a bachelor's degree (m=3.83). This appears to support the prediction that, among women, graduate school education is inversely related to marital commitment (see Appendix 5.3).

A similar breakdown of the relationship between male level of education and personal commitment (Figure 5.5) reveals the same pattern, however, with a greater decline in personal commitment among those males who have completed a bachelors degree (m=4.05) compared to those who are graduate students (m=3.63). It appears that this is not merely a female pattern, but is a consistent pattern associated with graduate school education. The relationship between female level of education and structural commitment was not significant (r=-.0567), but a significant relationship was found between male level of education and structural

FIGURE 5.5 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION



commitment (r=-.1552). The breakdown of structural commitment by level of education by sex reveals no consistent patterns. A consistent finding, however, is that the lowest level of structural commitment for both males (m=5.43) and females (m=5.56) is found at the graduate level of education.

Couple data. A further breakdown of personal commitment by graduate educational level by the educational level of spouse reveals some rather interesting patterns.

Table 5.2 indicates that 9 females have achieved a graduate level of education. Of these, one is married to a male with an incomplete high school education, one is married to a male who completed high school, one is married to a male who completed some university, two are married to males at the bachelor's level, and four are married to males at the graduate school level. The lowest levels of personal commitment are found among those graduate level females who are married to males with less than a university level education (m=1.25 and 2.5). In contrast, graduate school females married to males with a bachelor's degree or to graduate students (Table 5.2) have a higher level of personal commitment (mean of 5.13 and 4.19 respectively).

Table 5.3 indicates that 10 males have achieved a graduate level of education. While one-third of the females were married to spouses with less than a bachelor's degree, one-half of the males are married to spouses with less education than a bachelor's degree. The pattern of personal

TABLE 5.2 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY FEMALE GRADUATE EDUCATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SPOUSE

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF HUSBAND	NO.	MEAN
High School Incomplete	1	1.25
High School Complete	1	1.25
Some University	1	2.50
Bachelor's Degree	2	5.13
Graduate School	4	4.19

TABLE 5.3 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY MALE GRADUATE EDUCATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SPOUSE

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF WIFE	NO.	MEAN
High School Incomplete	0	0
High School Complete	3	2.92
Some University	2	4.00
Bachelor's Degree	1	2.75
Graduate School	4	4.19

commitment ~~for male~~ graduate students by the educational level of their spouse is far less consistent, with the lowest level of personal commitment found for the male student whose spouse was at the bachelor's level (m=2.75), and the highest level of personal commitment found among male graduate students married to female graduate students (m=4.19). It thus appears that for both male and female graduate students, a lower level of personal commitment is found among those whose spouses are at lower educational levels, and that this is particularly true for females. In general, we can conclude that the lower levels of personal commitment among individuals completing graduate level education are accounted for by *differences* in educational levels, particulary for females completing graduate level education or, so it would seem, based on the small sample available for the analysis.

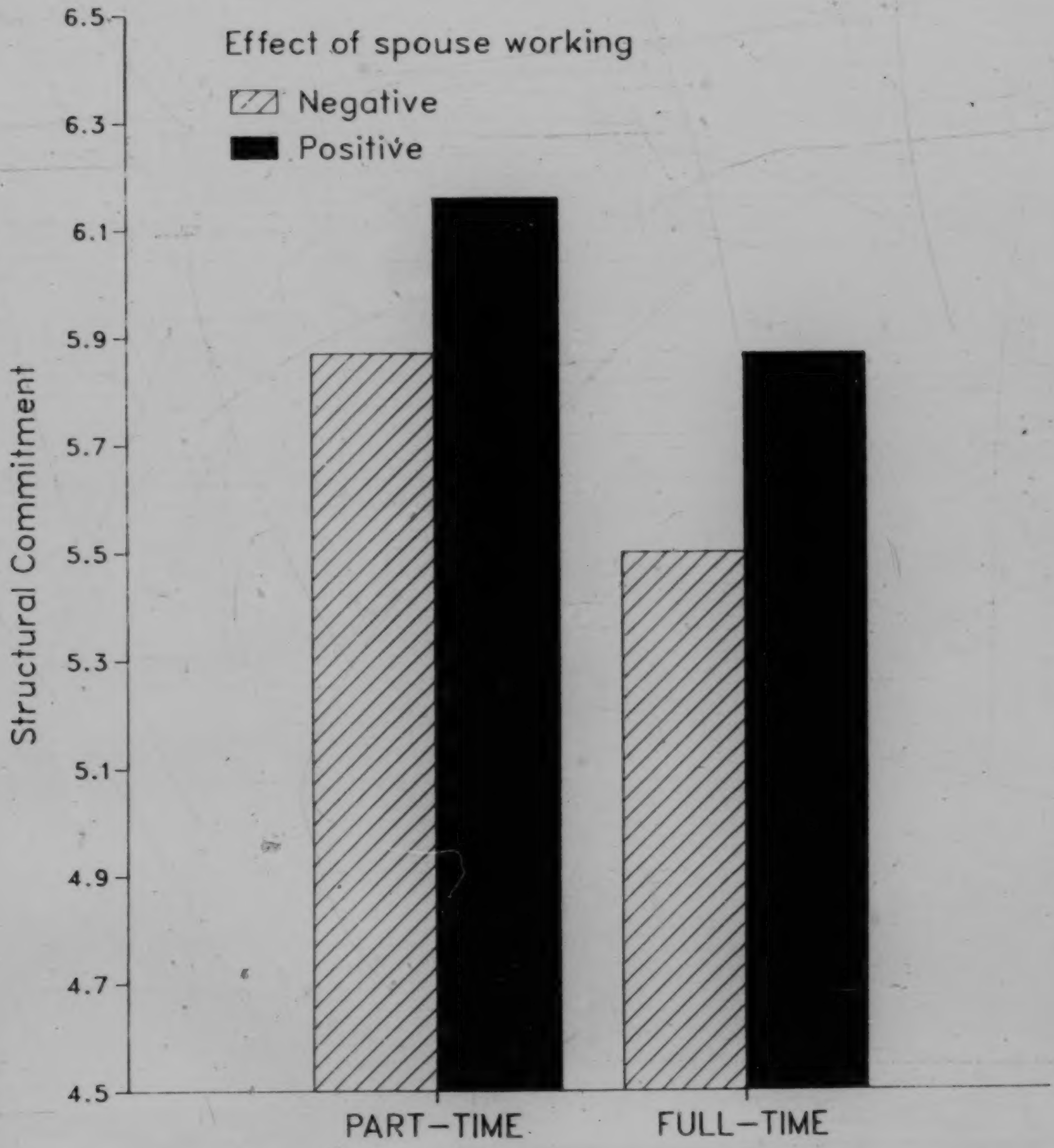
Proposition 5. Wife employment is inversely related to marital commitment.

No significant relationship is found between wife employment and personal commitment (r=.0925, p=.125). The breakdown of personal commitment by wife employment indicates that those wives who are working full-time report the lowest level of personal commitment (m=2.88), and that personal commitment increases for those who are working part-time (m=3.13), or those not working outside the home (m=3.15). A further breakdown of personal commitment by wife employment by age of children makes possible some interesting comparisons. Among those wives who are working full-time, the lowest level of personal commitment is found among those who have no children (m=2.75, N=39); a higher level is found among those with school age children (m=3.03, N=17); and the highest level of personal commitment is found among those with preschool children (m=3.25, N=7). Among those women not working outside the home, the highest level of personal commitment (m=3.45, N=26) is found for those with preschool children. We conclude that the presence of preschool children tends to increase the level of personal commitment, but these findings need to be regarded with caution because the relationships are not significant.

Wife employment is negatively related (r=.2691, p=.000) to structural commitment (because working full time is coded as 1, working part time is coded as 2, and not working outside the home is coded as 3, the signs of the correlation need to be reversed). The breakdown of structural commitment by wife employment reveals a consistent increase in structural commitment from those who are working full-time (m=5.74) to those who are working part-time (m=6.03) to those who are not working outside the home (m=6.26). The highest level of structural commitment is found among those wives who are not working outside the home, and the lowest among those who are working full-time, thus supporting the proposition that wife employment is negatively related to marital commitment.

Scanzoni (1968) reports that it is not so much the employment of the wife which creates the problem, but rather the attitude of the husband to his wife's employment. The husband's disapproval of his wife's employment is related to a higher level of marital dissolution. The data reported in Figure 5.6 indicate that the attitude of the husband to his wife's employment has a definite effect on structural commitment. When the effect of the wife's working was perceived as positive, structural commitment was higher than when the effect of the wife's working was perceived as negative. This difference is even greater when the wife is working full-time than when she is working part-time.

FIGURE 5.6 BREAKDOWN OF STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT BY WIFE EMPLOYMENT BY EFFECT OF SPOUSE WORKING



Proposition 6. Religious homogamy is positively related to marital commitment.

Sixteen different categories of religious preference were found in the sample. Of the 179 couples in the sample, 173 were willing to indicate their religious preference. Of these, 126 couples (72.8%) were homogamous with respect to religious affiliation. This appears to be a rather high proportion of homogamous marriages, but it must be kept in mind that this proportion may include a number of individuals who have changed their religious affiliation after marriage. The data do not provide a measure of religious affiliation before marriage. Glenn (1982) finds that current religious preference indicates that more than three-fourths of the Protestant/Protestant marriages were homogamous with respect to denomination. However, the degree of homogamy with the religion in which one was raised varied from a low of 14% to a high of 66%, showing that a great deal of religious switching took place after childhood, and that much of that switching took place for the express purpose of achieving homogamy.

No significant relationship is found between religious homogamy and personal commitment (r=.0501). The relationship between religious homogamy and structural commitment just fails to achieve significance (r=.1233, p=.060). The relationship is in the predicted direction, with those of the same religious affiliation demonstrating a higher level of structural commitment (m=6.07) than those of differing religious affiliations (m=5.82).

The above data lead to the conclusion that the impact of marrying outside one's faith is not as strong as has been assumed, or as negative as it has been in the past. It appears that the lines of demarcation between denominations are being blurred, and that denominational allegiance is not nearly as important to individuals as it has been in the past.

Proposition 7. Socioeconomic status is positively related to marital commitment.

A number of indicators of socioeconomic status, including level of income, level of education, level of occupation, and social class perception, are provided by the data. Each of these will be examined individually, and then combined in an index of socioeconomic status.

Individual data (Income). The data provide measures of income for both males and females. Male income is positively related to personal commitment (r=.2246, p=.002). Female income, however shows an extremely weak non-significant *negative* relationship with personal commitment (r=-.0541, p=.245). No significant relationship was found between either male income or female income and structural commitment.

Considerable variation is found between male income and female income (Table 5.4). This table reveals that half of the females in the sample (50.3%) have an income of less than $5,000 per year, 7% have an income of $20,000 or above, with no females having an income above $35,000. In contrast, 4.2% of the males have an income below $5,000, while half of

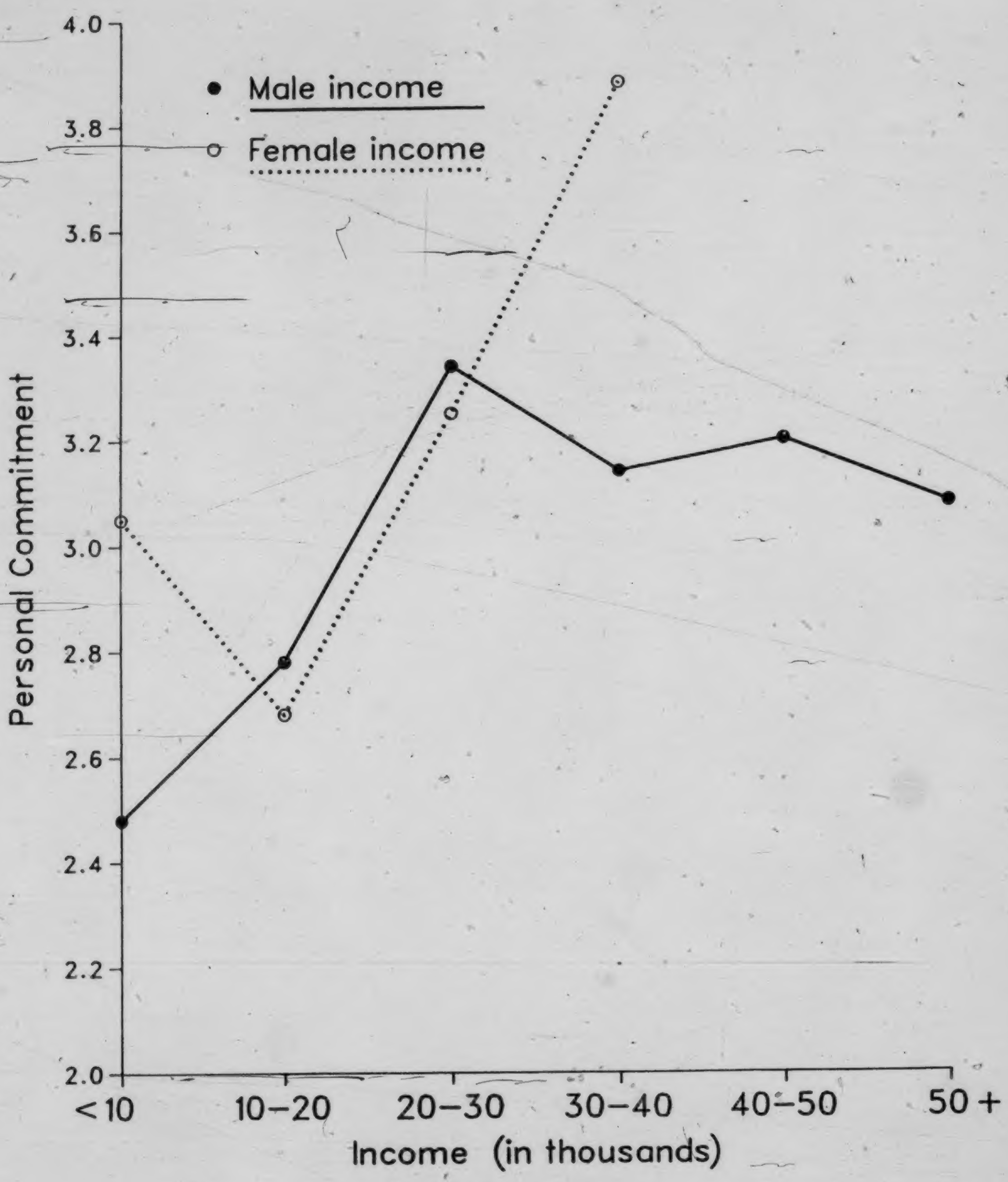
TABLE 5.4 COMPARISON OF MALE AND FEMALE INCOMES

	MALES			FEMALES		
INCOME	FREQ.	%	CUM %	FREQ.	%	CUM %
Under $5,000	7	3.9	4.2	86	48.0	50.3
$5,000-9,999	16	9.0	13.8	26	14.5	65.5
$10,000-14,999	16	9.0	23.4	40	22.3	88.9
$15,000-19,999	41	22.8	47.9	7	3.9	93.0
$20,000-24,999	28	15.6	64.7	5	2.8	95.9
$22,000-29,999	26	14.5	80.2	5	2.8	98.8
$30,000-34,999	12	6.7	87.4	2	1.1	100.0
$35,000-39,999	10	5.6	93.4			
$40,000-49,999	5	2.8	96.4			
$50,000 +	6	3.4	100.0			
MISSING	12	6.7		8	4.6	

the males (48%) have an income below $20,000. A further 30% of the males have an income between $20,000 and $30,000, which means that 20% of the males have an income of $30,000 or above, with 3.4% having an income of $50,000 or more.

The breakdown of personal commitment by income shows a rather different pattern for males and females (Figure 5.7). The lowest level of personal commitment for males is found among those with an annual salary of less than $10,000 (m=2.48). Personal commitment increases for those males with an annual income between $10,000 - $20,000 (m=2.78), and increases dramatically for those with an annual salary between $20,000 - $30,000 (m=3.37). Beyond this point, personal commitment decreases slightly, but essentially remains at the same plateau (Figure 5.7). In contrast, personal commitment is fairly high (m=3.05) for those

FIGURE 5.7 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY INCOME



females whose annual salary is below $10,000 which accounts for 65% of the sample. Personal commitment drops (m=2.68) for the 46 females (27.9%) whose annual income is between 10 and 20 thousand dollars. For the remaining 7% of the sample, personal commitment tends to rise with an increase in income. On the whole, personal commitment increases with an increase in male income (see Appendix 5.4).

A number of research studies have found that marital dissolution was related to a lack of assets rather than objective income (Coombs & Zumeta, 1970; Cutright, 1971; Levinger, 1965; Galligan & Bahr, 1978; Ross & Sawhill, 1975). When respondent income is considered, there is very little difference in the level of personal commitment of those who own their own home as compared to those who rent at annual levels of income of $30,000 or less. As we move to higher levels of income, those who own their own home demonstrate higher levels of commitment than those who rent. It should be noted, however, that of the 32 couples where the husband makes more than $30,000, only 4 couples (12.5%) rent their home. These findings are therefore not conclusive.

Mott and Moore (1979) found that having accumulated debts was more strongly related to marital dissolution than objective income. A breakdown of personal commitment by income by amount owed reveals no consistent pattern in the level of personal commitment controlling for income and amount owed.

In summary, personal commitment is positively related to the income of the male, but shows no relationship to the income of the female.

Couple data (Income). Using individual data, a significant relationship was found between personal commitment and male income (r=.2246, p=.002), but no relationship was found between personal commitment and female income (r=-.054,p=.245). When the couple mean is used in the measurement of couple data, the relationship between personal commitment and income is non-significant (r=.097, p=.113).

When income is measured in terms of absolute differences between husband and wife, the relationship between personal commitment and income is restored to the same level as when male income is used (r=.251, p=.001). Thus, as differences in income increase, personal commitment tends to increase.

The crosstabulation of husband's income by wife's income reveals that there are only 15 cases in which the wife's income exceeds her husband's income. In 11 of these cases, the amount by which female income exceeds male income is $4,000 or less. In most of these cases, the wife's annual income does not exceed $20,000.

The correlation between personal commitment and income utilizing only the 15 cases in which female income exceeds male income reveals some rather interesting patterns. When all cases are included, a positive relationship is found between personal commitment and male income (r=.225, p=.002). When female income exceeds male income however (15 cases), the relationship between personal commitment and male income becomes non-significant (r=.125, p=.328). In contrast there is a non-significant relationship between personal commitment and female income when all cases are included (r=-.054, p=.245). When only the 15 cases in which female income exceeds male income are included, however, a strong positive relationship is found between personal commitment and female income (r=.476, p=.036).

These findings, though based on a small number of cases, indicate that when female income exceeds male income, the personal commitment of males tends to decline, whereas the personal commitment of females tends to increase.

The relationship between structural commitment and income reveals a somewhat different pattern. Utilizing all cases, the relationship between structural commitment and male income is non-significant (r=.014, p=.430), but when female income exceeds male income (15 cases), a near-significant negative relationship is found (r=-.354, p=.098). Similarly, utilizing all cases, the relationship between structural commitment and female income is non-significant (r=-.033, p=.338), but when female income exceeds male income (15 cases) a stronger negative relationship is found (r=-.270, p=.165). Thus, as female income exceeds male income, the structural commitment of both males and females tends to decline.

In summary, when female income exceeds male income, there are fewer external restraints holding the marriage together for both males and females. On the other hand, when female income exceeds male income, the personal commitment or inner resolve to hold the marriage together increases for females but decreases for males. Thus, when female income exceeds male income, both the personal commitment and structural commitment of males is weakened. In contrast, the structural commitment of females is weakened whereas their personal commitment is strengthened.

Individual and couple data (Education). The relationship between the various measures of commitment and education is discussed under proposition 3, and will not be repeated here.

Individual and couple data (Occupation). The breakdown of both personal and structural commitment by industry of work indicates no significant differences in the level of personal and structural commitment between the various categories of occupation. No further analysis was therefore carried out.

Individual data (Social Class Perception). No significant relationships are found between personal commitment and social class perception ($r=-.0072$, $p=.467$) or between structural commitment and social class perception ($r=.0673$, $p=.202$). Since there is no measure in the data of female perception of social class, the analysis of couple data with respect to this measure is impossible.

A composite index of socioeconomic status was calculated by combining the five variables of household income, income of respondent, level of education, number of years of schooling, and perception of social class. A positive correlation (r=.2532, p=.001) is found between this composite index of socioeconomic status and personal commitment. No relationship is found between structural commitment and this index of socioeconomic status (r=-.0337, p=.345).

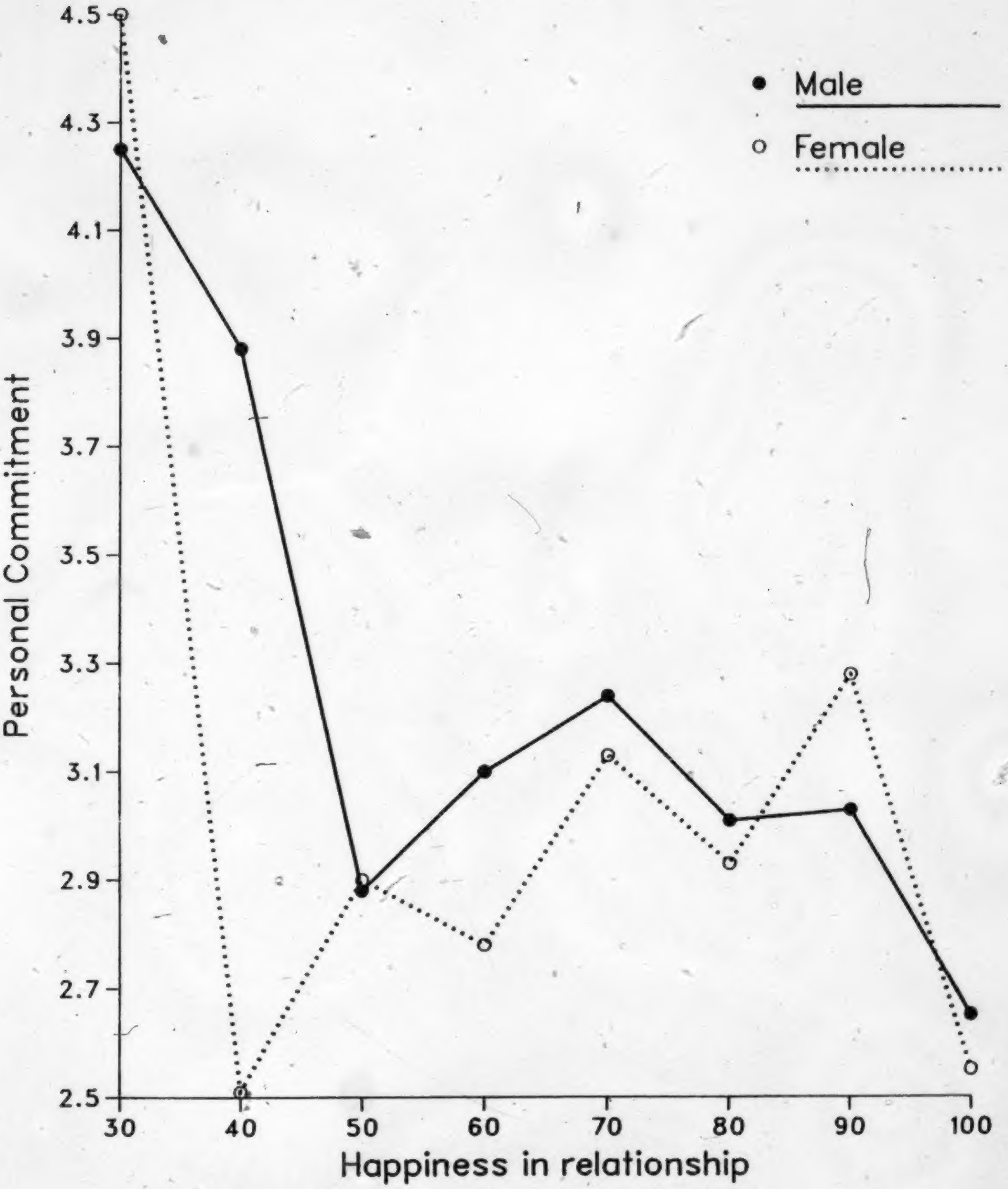
Proposition 8. Marital satisfaction is positively related to marital commitment.

A number of measures of marital satisfaction are provided by the data. The first is reported happiness in the relationship, which was secured by asking individuals to rate the degree of happiness in their relationship on a scale of 0 to 100, with 50 representing the degree of happiness of _most_ marriage relationships. The second measure is provided by the individual's reported satisfaction with family life, reported on a scale of 1 to 7. The third measure of marital satisfaction is provided by a composite scale constructed as described in the previous chapter.

Individual data. Using the first measure of degree of happiness in the relationship, a strong positive correlation is found between structural commitment and reported happiness in the relationship for both males (r=.1943, p=.006) and females (r=.3051, p=.000). The breakdown of structural commitment by reported degree of happiness in the relationship indicates that structural commitment increases with increases in the reported degree of happiness in the relationship. This relationship is somewhat stronger for females than for males.

Though the relationship between personal commitment and reported happiness in the relationship is non-significant, it is rather striking that this relationship is negative for both males (r=-.1036) and females (r=-.0257). While there is no consistent pattern in the relationship (Figure 5.8), it is rather noteworthy that both males and females reporting the lowest levels of happiness in their relationship (falling at 30 on the scale from 0 to 100), nevertheless display the highest levels of personal commitment for both males (m=4.25) and females (m=4.50). Conversely, males who report the highest level of satisfaction with their relationship (100 on the scale) also display the lowest level of personal commitment (m=2.65). Similarly, females who report the highest level of satisfaction with their marital relationship (100 on the scale) demonstrate the second-lowest level of personal commitment (m=2.55). It may be that those who experience a low level of happiness are determined to keep their marriage together. This may be an indication of moral commitment. On the other hand, those who experience a high level of happiness may not be conscious of monitoring personal commitment because they are operating from what Levinger refers to as an "economy of surplus."

FIGURE 5.8 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY HAPPINESS IN RELATIONSHIP



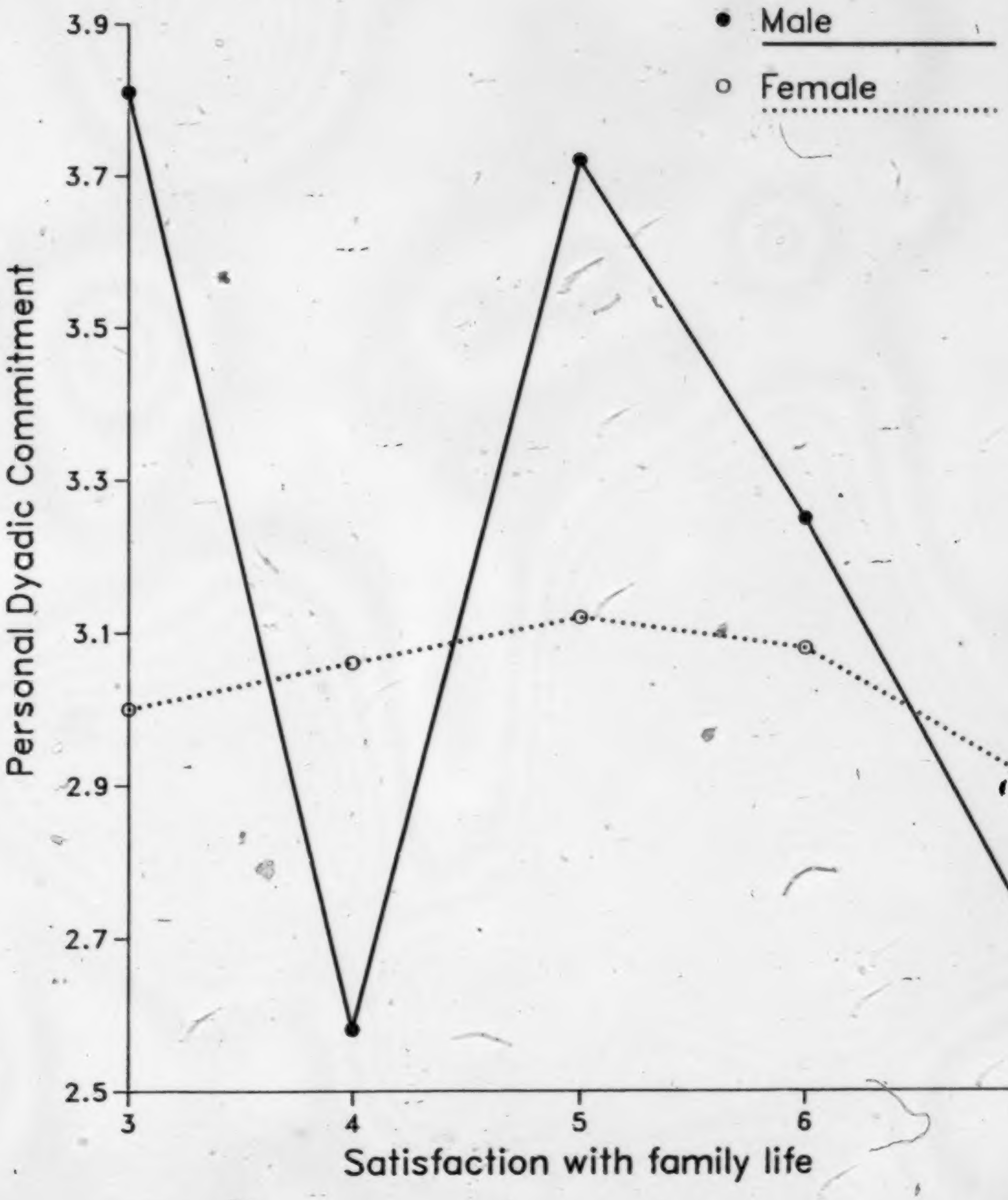
Using the second measure of reported satisfaction with family life, a strong positive correlation is also found between structural commitment and the reported satisfaction with family life of males (r=.2924, p=.000) and females (r=.4088, p=.000). Once again, the correlation is stronger for females than for males.

Reported satisfaction with family life is also negatively related to personal commitment at a non-significant level for females (r=-.0531, p=.244), but at a significant level for males (r=-.1893, p=.006). Figure 5.9 reveals that personal commitment changes very little with changes in the reported satisfaction with family life of females. More significant changes are evidenced for males, with the basic pattern of a decline in personal commitment with an increase in reported satisfaction with family life.

Using the composite scale as the third measure of marital satisfaction, a strong positive relationship is found between structural commitment and the composite scale measure of marital satisfaction (r=.2756, p=.000). The relationship between personal commitment and the composite scale is not significant.

Couple data. Using the first measure of degree of happiness in the relationship, and utilizing the couple mean measurement, the relationship between degree of happiness and structural commitment remains strong (r=.2941, p=.000). When degree of happiness is measured in terms of absolute differences between husband and wife, the relationship

FIGURE 5.9 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY SATISFACTION WITH FAMILY LIFE



between degree of happiness and structural commitment disappears (r=.0656, p=.201). When husband and wife are similar in their perception of the degree of happiness, in the relationship, the level of structural commitment remains high. When husband and wife are dissimilar in their perception of the degree of happiness in the relationship, the level of structural commitment decreases.

The median split measurement of the degree of happiness in the relationship reveals some interesting patterns (see Appendix 5.5). The lowest levels of structural commitment are experienced by those couples where both husband and wife are below the median (m=5.73), and where the husband is above but the wife is below the median (m=5.92) in degree of happiness. The highest levels of structural commitment are experienced by those couples where both husband and wife are above the median (m=6.30) and where the husband is below but the wife is above the median (m=6.28) in degree of happiness. The analysis of variance reveals that these differences are significant (F=4.5341, SIG=.0044). Thus, high levels of female happiness in the relationship tend to be more strongly associated with high levels of structural commitment.

When the couple mean is applied to the second measure of reported satisfaction with family life, a strong positive relationship is found between this measure and structural commitment (r=.4133, p=.000). In contrast, when absolute differences between husband and wife are used in the measurement of reported satisfaction with family life, a near-significant negative relationship is found with structural commitment (r=-.1239, p=.056). Thus, as differences between husband and wife in their reported satisfaction with family life increase, structural commitment decreases dramatically.

When the median split measurement is applied to satisfaction with family life (see Appendix 5.6) we again find the lowest levels of structural commitment when both husband and wife are below the median (m=5.55) and when the husband is above but the wife is below (m=5.83) in satisfaction with family life. The highest levels of structural commitment are found when both husband and wife are above the median (m=6.39), and when the husband is below but the wife is above the median (m=6.03) in reported satisfaction with family life. Analysis of variance indicates that these differences are significant (F=8.3839, SIG=.0000). Again, a high level of structural commitment is associated with a high level of reported satisfaction with family life on the part of the wife.

When individual data were used, the relationships between personal commitment and reported happiness in the relationship were not significant for either males or females. Using the couple mean measurement, a non-significant negative relationship (r=-.0743, p=.166) is again found between personal commitment and happiness in the relationship. When absolute differences between husand and wife are used in the measurement of reported satisfaction with family life, a non-significant negative relationship (r=-.0986, p=.099) is again found.

Using individual data, it was found that reported satisfaction with family life was negatively related to personal commitment at a non-significant level for females, but at a significant level for males (r=-.1893). When the couple mean is used, a significant negative relationship (r=-.1465, p=.027) is found between personal commitment and satisfaction with family life. In contrast, when absolute differences between husband and wife are used, a significant positive relationship (r=.1535, p=.022) is found between satisfaction with family life and personal commitment. Thus, as differences increase between husbands and wives in their reported satisfaction with family life, personal commitment also tends to increase despite the fact that, on an individual level, personal commitment is negatively related to satisfaction with family life.

Proposition 9. Individualism is inversely related to marital commitment.

No significant relationships are found between individualism and personal commitment (r=.0787) but a very strong negative relationship (r=-.4749, p=.000) is found between individualism and structural commitment. As individualism increases, structural commitment decreases rapidly. An examination of inter-correlations reveals that of the 26 variables that are significantly related to structural commitment, 20 are also significantly correlated with individualism. These inter-correlations indicate that individualism increases with the respondent's educational level (r=.2783, p=.000), the number of years of schooling (r=.264, p=.000), the tendency for the female to get together less frequently with the neighbours just to chat (r=.229, p=.002), with renting as opposed to owning your own home (r=.192, p=.008), and with the number of times the female has been divorced (r=.168, p=.017). On the other hand, individualism decreases with the religious participation of the female (r=-.472, p=.000) and of the male (r=-.431, p=.000), as we move from full-time to part-time employment to not working outside the home on the part of the spouse (r=-.394, p=.000), duration of marriage (r=-.360, p=.000), with the approval of the husband (r=-.302, p=.000) and of the wife (r=-.175, p=.014) of making divorce laws tougher, with conservative religious affiliation on the part of the male (r=-.287, p=.000) and of the female (r=-.239, p=.001), with the number of children on the part of the husband (r=-.283, p.=.000) and of the wife (r=-.242, p=.001), with an increase in satisfaction with family life on the part of the female (r=-.241, p=.001), with a decrease on the part of either spouse (as reported by the husband), to insult or swear at the other (r=-.240, p=.001) with an increase in marital satisfaction (r=-.234, p=.003), and with a decrease on the part of either spouse to have stomped out of the room or house, as reported by the husband (r=-.176, p=.013).

> Proposition 10. Marital violence is inversely related to marital commitment.

A direct measure of marital violence is unavailable in the data, but a number of indirect measures have been utilized.

Individual data. The first indirect measure asks the question how often either of the spouses insulted or swore at the other, with daily or almost daily being coded as 1, and never in the past 12 months being coded as 7.

No relationship is found between this measure of marital violence and personal commitment. There is a significant correlation between structural commitment and the husband's report that either spouse insulted or swore at the other (r=.2982, p=.000), and between structural commitment and the wife's report that either spouse insulted or swore at the other (r=.2289, p=.002). These findings indicate that structural commitment decreases with the tendency on the part of either spouse to insult or swear at the other. If insulting or swearing at the other spouse is regarded as a form of marital violence, then this form of marital violence tends to decrease structural marital commitment.

The second indirect measure of marital violence asks the question how often either spouse stomped out of the room or house, with daily or almost daily being coded as 1, and never in the last 12 months being coded as 7.

The relation between this measure of marital violence and personal commitment is non-significant. There is a significant relation between structural commitment and the husband's report that either spouse stomped out of the room or house (r=.2712, p=.000), and between structural commitment and the wife's report that either spouse stomped out of the room or house (r=.1477, p=.030). Once again, these findings indicate that structural commitment decreases with the tendency on the part of either spouse to stomp out of the room or house. Marital violence, in other words, is inversely related to structural commitment.

Marital violence is also indirectly measured by the questions whether the respondent has ever been punched or beaten by another; whether this was experienced as a child, adult, or both; and what frequency of punching or beating was experienced. No significant relationships are found between these three variables and the measures of marital commitment.

Couple data. Using individual data, a significant relationship was found between structural commitment and both the husband's and wife's report that either insulted or swore at the other. When the couple mean is used, a similar relationship is found between the report that either spouse insulted or swore at the other and structural commitment (r=.3064, p=.000), indicating that structural commitment decreases with the tendency on the part of either spouse to insult or swear at the other, suggesting that this form of marital violence weakens structural commitment.

The median split method (see appendix 5.7) divides the sample on the basis of husbands and wives who report that either has insulted or sworn at the other as opposed to those who report that they have never done so (in the past 12 months). The lowest level of structural commitment (m=5.52) is experienced when both husband and wife report that either insulted or swore at the other (coded as 1). Intermediate levels of structural commitment are experienced when the husband reports this form of violence whereas the wife does not (m=5.95) and when the wife reports this form of violence but the husband does not (m=6.23). The highest level of structural commitment (m=6.32) is found when both husband and wife report that neither has ever insulted or sworn at the other (coded as 4). Analysis of variance indicates that these differences are significant (F=8.7791, SIG=.0000).

When the measure of absolute differences between spouses in this measure of reported violence is used, a significant negative relationship is found between marital violence and structural commitment (r=-.1587, p=.022), indicating that as absolute differences increase between husband's and wife's report that either insulted or swore at the other, structural commitment tends to decrease.

The second measure of marital violence asks the question how often either spouse stomped out of the room or house. When the couple mean is used, a significant relationship is found between this measure of marital violence and structural commitment (r=.2500, p=.001), indicating that structural commitment decreases with the tendency on the part of either spouse to stomp out of the room or house.

The median split method (see Appendix 5.8) divides the sample on the basis of those who report that either has stomped out of the room or house, as opposed to those who report that this behavior has never taken place in the past year. Findings are similar to the previous measure of violence, with the lowest structural commitment experienced (m=5.76) when both husband and wife report that either has stomped out of the room or house, and the highest level of structural commitment experienced when both husband and wife report no violence of this nature (m=6.23). These differences are significant (F=3.3571, SIG=.0204). Couple data thus support the findings of individual data that an increase in violence tends to contribute to a decrease in structural commitment.

When absolute differences between spouses' reports that either had stomped out of the room or house are used, a significant relationship is found between this measure of marital violence and structural commitment (r=-.1478, p=.030), indicating that as absolute differences increase between husband's and wife's report that either had stomped out of the room or house, structural commitment tends to decrease.

Proposition 11. The accuracy of interpersonal perception is positively related to marital commitment.

Three levels of interpersonal perception are provided by the data (see previous chapter). The first level is an index which summarizes the differences between the husband's response and the wife's response (HRWR INDEX) to four different questions. The relationships between this first level of interpersonal perception and both personal and structural commitment are non-significant.

The second level of interpersonal perception measures the accuracy of the husband's perception of his wife's response (HPWR INDEX), as well as the accuracy of the wife's perception of the husband's response (WPHR INDEX). The relationships between this second level of interpersonal perception and both personal and structural commitment are non-significant.

The third level of interpersonal perception provides an index of the accuracy of the husband's interpersonal perception (HIP INDEX) as well as an index of the accuracy of the wife's interpersonal perception (WIP INDEX). A weak, positive relationship is found between personal commitment and the accuracy of the husband's interpersonal perception ($r=-.1505$, $p=.040$). Because interpersonal perception is measured in terms of absolute differences in responses between spouses, a difference of 0 or 1 would represent high interpersonal accuracy, whereas a difference of six would represent low accuracy. For this reason the signs of the relationship need to be reversed.

> Proposition 12. Common social affiliations of spouses are positively related to marital commitment.

Individual data. There is no direct measure of common social affiliations of spouses in the data. The first indirect measure of social affiliations is secured by the question of how many adults in this neighbourhood either spouse would know by name if they met on the street. The relationship between personal commitment and the number of neighbourhood adults known by name by either husband or wife is not significant. The relationship between structural commitment and the number of neighbourhood adults known by name by the husband is positive (r=.2118, p=.003), while that between structural commitment and the number of neighbourhood adults known by the wife is positive, but does not achieve significance (r=.1009, p=.098). Thus, the more neighbourhood adults known by name by the husband, the greater the level of structural commitment.

The second indirect measure of social affiliations is how often the respondents got together with their neighbours just for a chat, with daily or almost daily coded as 1, and never in the past twelve months coded as 7. The relationship between personal commitment and the frequency of getting together with the neighbours just for a chat is not significant for either husband or wife. The relationship between structural commitment and the frequency of getting together with the neighbours just for a chat is non-significant for the husband (r=-.0662) but is significant for the wife (r=-.1320, p=.045). This finding indicates that the more frequently the wife indicates she gets together with the neighbours just for a chat, the higher will be her structural commitment.

The best measure of common social affiliations is in response to the question how often in the past 12 months the respondent spent a social evening with friends who live outside the neighbourhood. No significant relationships were found between personal commitment and the frequency of social visits with friends for either husband or wife, or between structural commitment and the frequency of social visits with friends for either husband or wife.

Two other indirect measures of social affiliations are secured by the question how long the couple has lived in this residence and how long they have lived in Edmonton. It can be assumed that the longer the couple has lived in a particular residence or city, the stronger would be their network of social affiliations. No relationship is found between personal commitment and the length of time the couple has lived in this residence or in the city of Edmonton. Structural commitment, however, is significantly related to the length of time the couple has lived in this residence (r=.1644, p=.017), and in the city of Edmonton (r=.1901, p=.007). As the amount of time the couple has lived in a particular residence or in the city of Edmonton increases, there is a corresponding increase in the level of structural commitment.

Couple data. A positive relationship was found between structural commitment and the number of neighbourhood adults known by name which was significant for the husband (r=.2118) but not for the wife (r=.1009). When the couple mean is used for the number of neighbourhood adults known by name, a positive relationship (r=.1665, p=.016) is found between this couple measure of social affiliations and structural commitment. This indicates that structural commitment increases with an increase in the mean number of neighbourhood adults known by the couple.

When the absolute differences between husband and wife is used as the measure of social affiliations, no significant relationships are found.

The median split measurement (see Appendix 5.9) supports the finding that structural commitment tends to be lower when the number of adults known by the husband is below the median (m=5.91 when both are below the median, and m=5.80 when the husband is below and the wife is above the median), and structural commitment is higher when the number of adults known by the husband is above the median (m=6.18 when both are above the median, and m=6.44 when the husband is above and the wife is below the median).

The second indirect measure of social affiliations is how often the respondents get together with their neighbours just for a chat. Similarly, no significant relationships are found between either couple mean or absolute differences measures of how often in the past twelve months the couple spent a social evening with friends who live outside the neighbourhood and personal or structural commitment.

Proposition 13. Strong kinship ties are positively related to marital commitment.

Individual data. Kinship ties are measured by the question how often the respondent has spent a social evening with relatives in the past twelve months, with responses coded from daily or almost daily (1) to never in the past twelve months (7). There is no significant correlation between personal commitment and frequency of social visits with relatives for either males or females.

When the relation betwen structural commitment and the frequency of social visits with relatives is measured, a weak non-significant relationship is found, but it is in the predicted direction. Structural commitment tends to increase with an increase in the frequency of social visits with relatives for both males (r=-.0839, p=.141) and females (r=-.1073, p=.084).

A second measure of kinship ties is secured by the question how often the respondent takes care of keeping in touch with relatives. No significant relationships are found between personal commitment or structural commitment and the responsibility of either spouse for keeping in touch with relatives.

Couple data. Utilizing the couple mean and absolute differences measures, no significant relationships are found between how often the couple has spent a social evening with relatives in the past twelve months and either personal or structural commitment.

Similarly, using couple measures, no significant relationships are found between how often the husband or wife takes care of keeping in touch with relatives and either personal or structural commitment.

These data suggest that with an increasing emphasis on the nuclear family, there is a corresponding decrease in the impact of relatives and friends on marital stability and/or commitment.

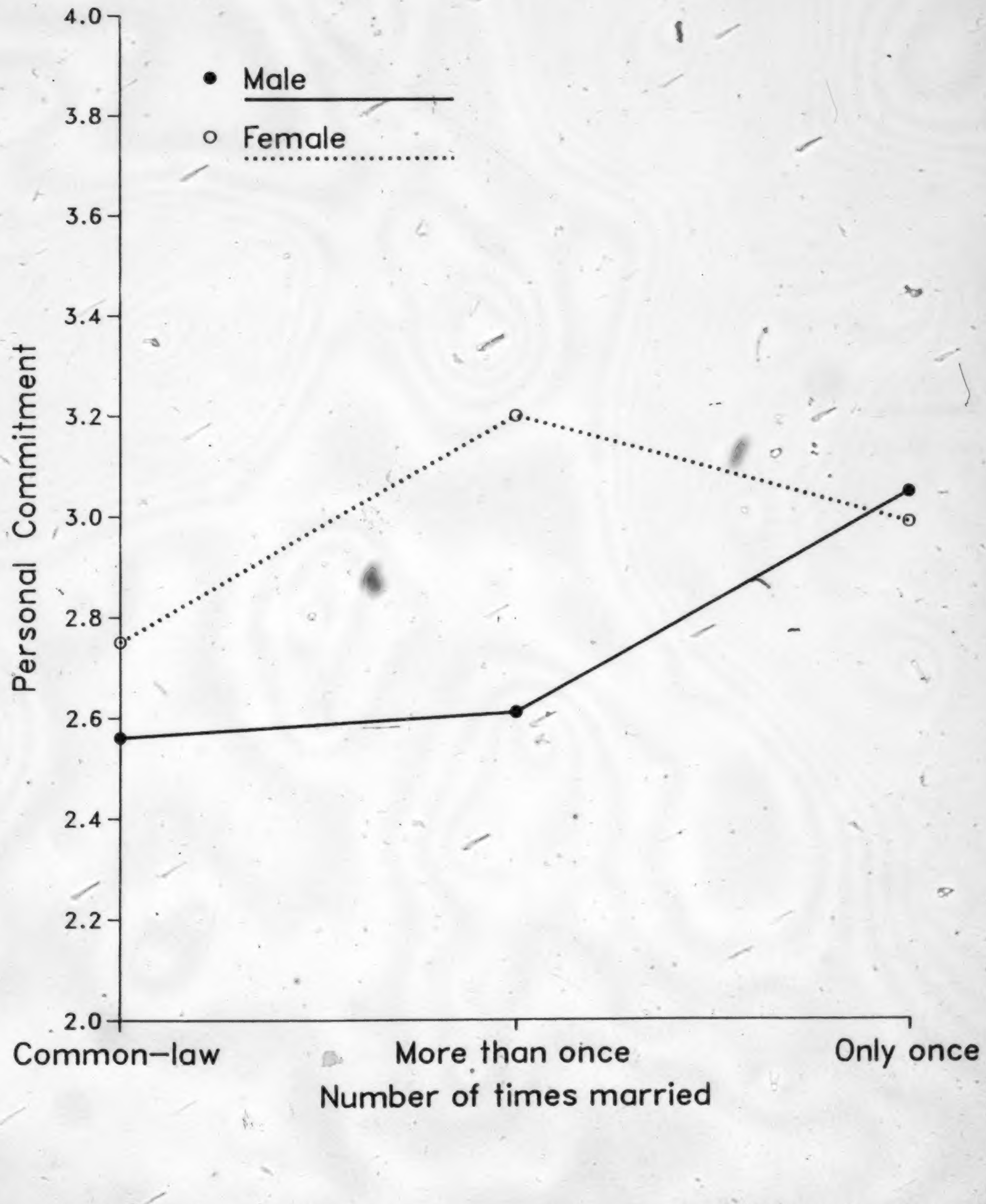
Proposition 14. A previous divorce is inversely related to marital commitment.

No significant relationship is found between the number of times divorced and personal commitment for either males (r=-.0134, p=.431) or females (r=-.0113, p=.442), but the predicted direction is observed in that personal commitment decreases with an increase in the number of times divorced.

A related measure is provided by the variable which indicates the number of times an individual has been married. It needs to be kept in mind that the data treat couples who are living common law (18 in the sample) in the same way as those who are married. Some of the individuals who are presently living common law were married in the past. A near-significant relationship (r=.1101, p=.075) is found between personal commitment and the number of times married for males, but no relationship (r=.014, p=.426) between personal commitment and the number of times married for females. (Living common law is coded as 1, married more than once as 2, and married only once as 3, so the signs of the relationship need to be reversed). The breakdown of this relationship (Figure 5.10) indicates that males who have never been married (i.e., those living common law) have the lowest level of personal commitment (N=12, m=2.56). Males married more than once (N=9) display almost the same level of personal commitment (m=2.61) as those living common law (m=2.56). Males married only once (N=151) display the highest level of personal commitment (m=3.05). Females who have never been married (N=10) also display the lowest level of personal commitment (m=2.75). In contrast to males, however, females married more than once (N=15) display the highest level of personal commitment (m=3.20), while those married only once (N=147) display a somewhat lower level of personal commitment (m=2.99). None of these differences, however, are significant, and should therefore be treated with caution.

While the relationship between personal commitment and number of times divorced does not achieve significance for either males or females, the relationship between structural commitment and number of times divorced is non-significant for males (r=-.0083, p=.458), but is significant for females (r=-.1958, p=.006). It needs to be kept in mind that only 7

FIGURE 5.10 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY NUMBER OF TIMES MARRIED



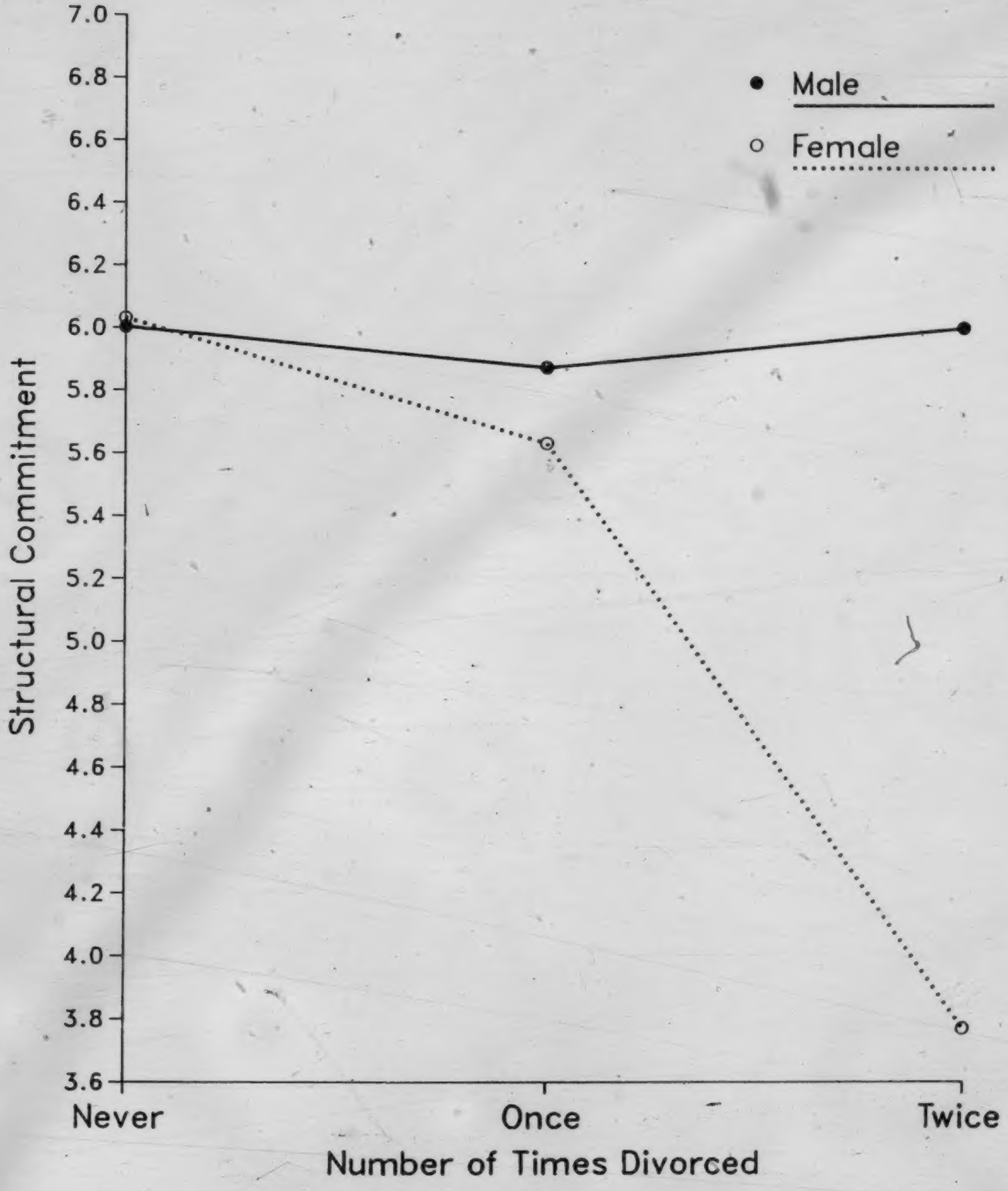
males in the sample report being divorced, whereas 18 females report being divorced. The negative relationship indicates that structural commitment tends to decrease as the number of times a female has been divorced increases.

The breakdown of this relationship (Figure 5.11) shows that there is very little variation between those males who have never been divorced (N=158, m=6.00), those who have been divorced once (N=6, m=5.94), and those who have been divorced twice (N=1, m=6.00). In comparison, structural commitment declines significantly when comparing females who have never been divorced (N=147, m=6.05) with those who have been divorced once (N=17, m=5.66), and those who have been divorced twice (N=1, m=3.75). Structural commitment of females clearly decreases with the number of times divorced.

Since the data provides information on those living common law, it is interesting to note the comparative level of structural commitment. Structural commitment for both males and females living common law (m=4.48) is significantly lower than for those living in a traditional marital relationship (m=6.15).

Couple data. A strong positive relationship is found between structural commitment and number of times married for both males (r=.3689, p=.000) and females (r=.4277, p=.000). Since those living common law were coded as 1, those married more than once coded as 2, and those married only once coded as 3, this indicates that structural commitment decreases as we move from those married only once

FIGURE 5.11 BREAKDOWN OF STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT BY NUMBER OF TIMES DIVORCED



to those married more than once to those living common law.

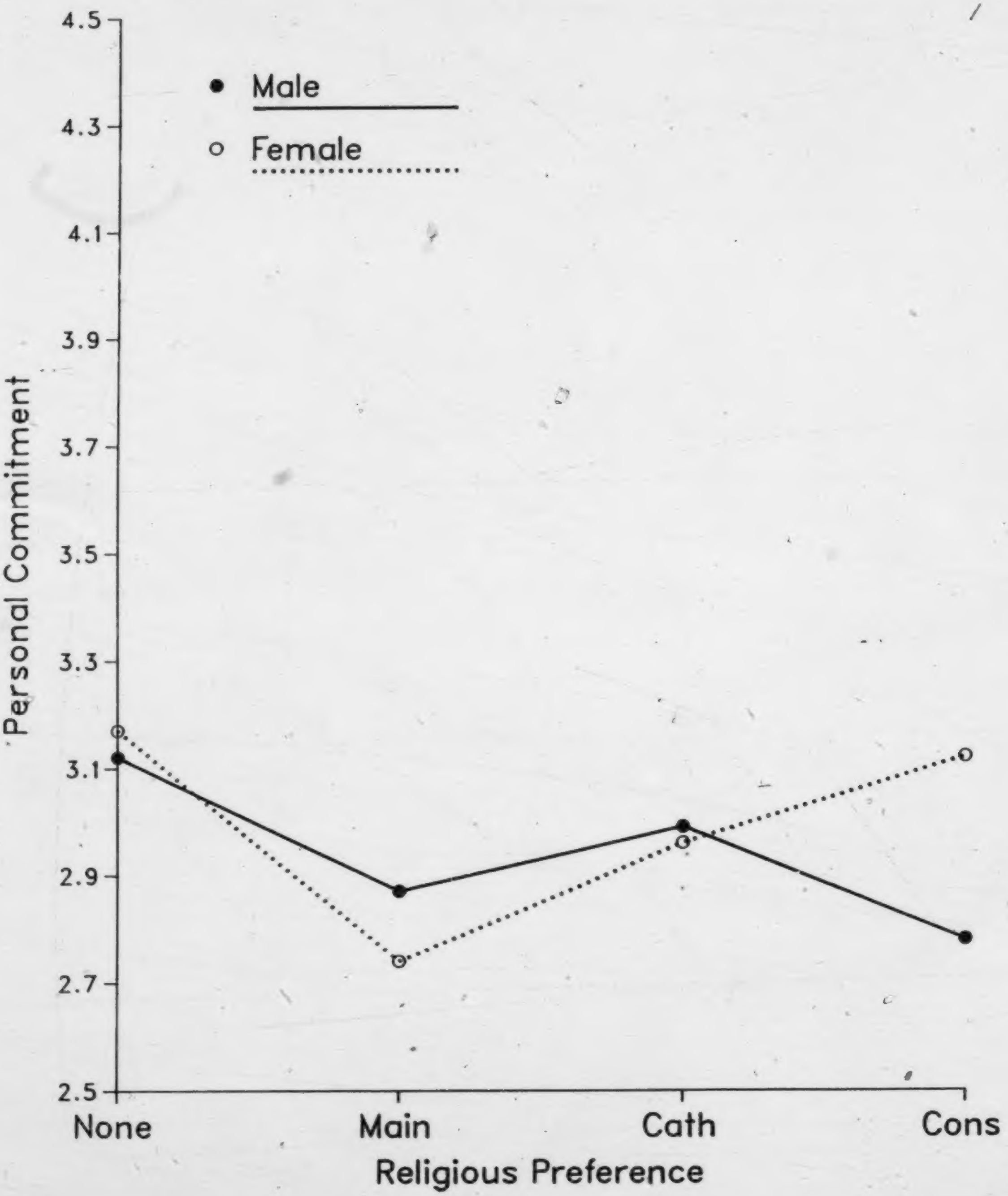
No relationship was found in the individual data between structural commitment and the previous divorce of males, but a negative relationship was found between structural commitment and the previous divorce of females. Using the median split measure (see Appendix 5.10), the highest level of structural commitment is found among those couples (N=4) where the wife has not been divorced but the husband has (m=6.16) and among those couples (N=143) where neither husband nor wife has been divorced(m=6.04). Thus, high structural commitment tends to be associated with non-divorce on the part of females. The lowest level of structural commitment is experienced by those couples (N=15) where the husband has not been divorced but the wife has (m=5.53) and among those (N=3) where both husband and wife have experienced previous divorce (m=5.67). Low levels of structural commitment are associated with previous female divorce. Analysis of variance indicates that these differences are not significant, and must therefore be treated with caution.

A strong positive relationship was found in the individual data between structural commitment and number of times married for both males and females, indicating that structural commitment decreases as we move from those married only once to those married more than once to those living common law. The median split method (see Appendix 5.11) finds the highest level of structural commitment (m=6.13) for those couples (N=132) in which both husband and wife have been married only once. The lowest level of structural commitment (m=4.75) is found among those couples (N=10) where both husband and wife have been married more than once or are living common law. Intermediate levels of structural commitment are found for those couples where the husband has been married only once and the wife has been married more than once or is living common law (N=14, m=5.65), and those in which the wife has been married only once and the husband has been married more than once or is living common law (N=9, m=5.89). These differences between groups are highly significant (F=8.659, SIG=.0000).

Proposition 15. Conservative religious affiliation is positively related to marital commitment.

Personal commitment is not significantly related to the religious preference of either the husband or the wife. The pattern of this relationship is indicated in Figure 5.12. No demonstrable pattern exists for the husband, but it is interesting that those classified as no religion demonstrate the highest levels of personal commitment, while religiously conservative husbands demonstrate the lowest level of personal commitment. Wives classified as none similarly demonstrate the highest levels of personal commitment. Wives generally demonstrate approximately the same level of personal commitment as their husbands in most categories. The one exception is those of conservative religious affiliation where wives demonstrate a far higher level of

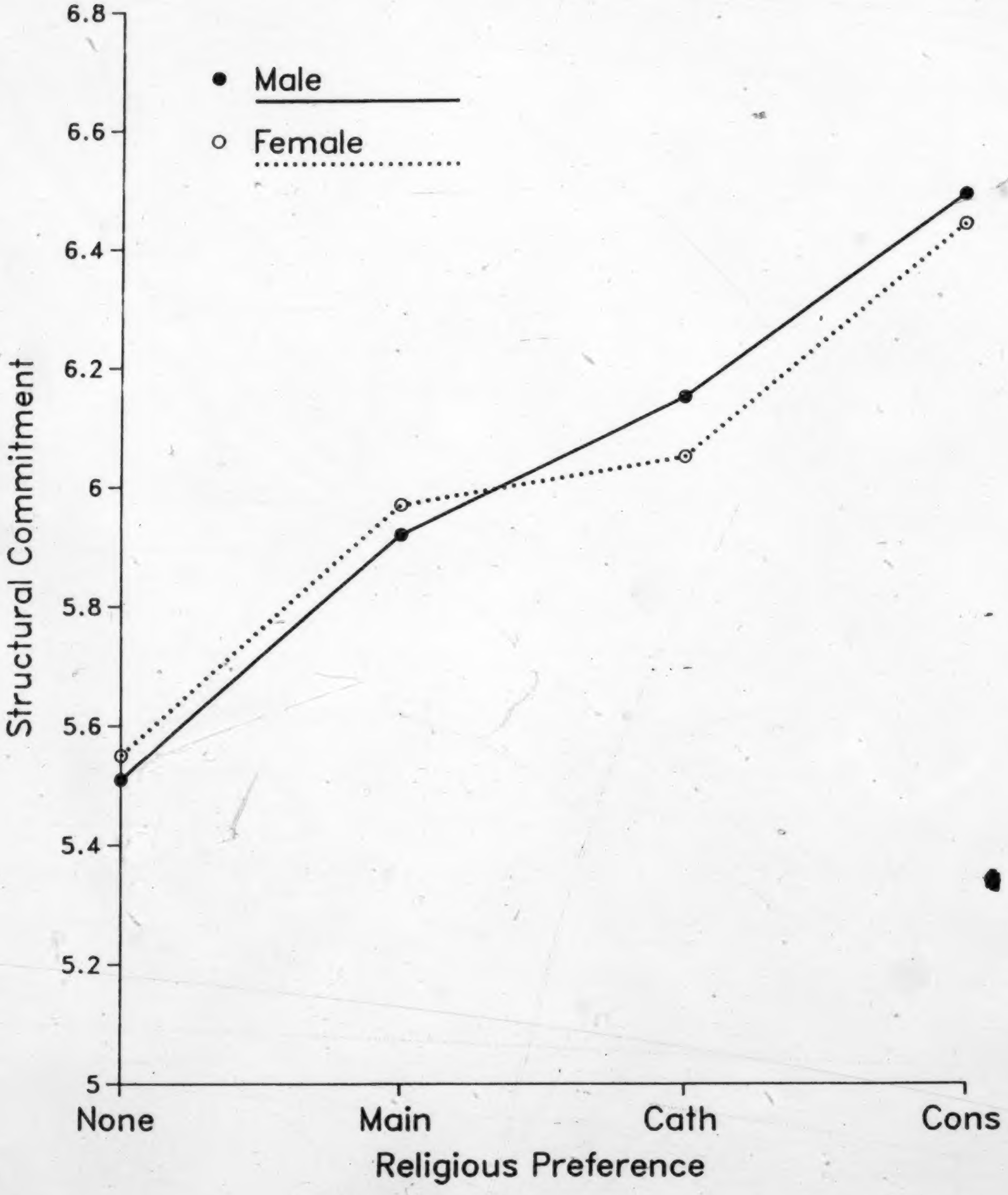
FIGURE 5.12 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE



personal commitment (m=3.12) than husbands of conservative religious affiliation (m=2.78). Booth et al. (1983) argue that fundamentalist groups rank higher on instability. They suggest that ideological rigidity may be counterproductive in the reinforcement of marriage. In contrast, Glenn & Supancic (1984) suggest that higher divorce rates among conservative denominations are contrary to what one might expect, given their strong disapproval of divorce. They suggest that these findings may reflect a tendency for persons to be attracted to these denominations after they divorce or separate, and may also partly reflect the lower socioeconomic status of persons in these denominations. A major reason may also be the strong demands these denominations make on the time, energy, and money of their adherents, which may negatively affect marriages, especially if the spouses are not also adherents.

Structural commitment is significantly related to the religious preference of both husband (r=.2960, p=.000) and wife (r=.2349, p=.004). The lowest level of structural commitment (Figure 5.13) is demonstrated by those of no religious affiliation (m=5.51 for males and 5.55 for females), with those of mainline denominations being somewhat higher (m=5.92 for males and 5.97 for females). Catholics demonstrate the next level of structural commitment (m=6.15 for males and 6.05 for females). The highest level of structural commitment is found among those of conservative religious preference (m=6.49 for males and

FIGURE 5.13 BREAKDOWN OF STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT BY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE



6.44 for females).

Proposition 16. Religious participation is positively related to marital commitment.

Individual data. The religious participation of both males and females was provided by the frequency of church attendance during the previous four weeks.

Personal commitment is significantly related to the religious participation of both males (r=.2646, p=.000) and females (r=.2227, p=.002). Structural commitment is also significantly related to the religious participation of both males (r=.2542, p=.001) and females (r=.2811, p=.000).

Couple data. When the couple mean is used as the measure of religious participation, a significant relationship is found with both personal commitment (r=.2523, p=.000) and structural commitment (r=.2738, p=.000). In contrast, when absolute differences in religious participation between husband and wife are used as a measure, the relationship between religious participation and both personal commitment (r=.1030, p=.091) and structural commitment (r=.0405, p=.304) is non-significant. Thus, as differences in religious participation between husband and wife increase, both personal commitment and structural commitment decrease.

The median split method (see Appendix 5.12) divides the sample on the basis of those who never attend church as opposed to those who do attend church. A somewhat surprising finding is that the lowest level of personal commitment is not found among those couples where neither spouse attends church (N=90, m=2.88), but rather among those couples where the husband never attends but the wife does (N=14, m=2.68). Similarly the highest level of personal commitment is not found among those couples where both attend church (N=63, m=3.13), but rather among those couples where the husband attends church but the wife does not (N=2, m=5.13). It appears, therefore, that the relationship between personal commitment and religious participation is more clearly related to the husband's participation, particularly when there is a difference in the religious participation of spouses. The differences between groups, however, just fail to achieve significance (F=2.402, significant at .069 level), and should therefore be carefully interpreted.

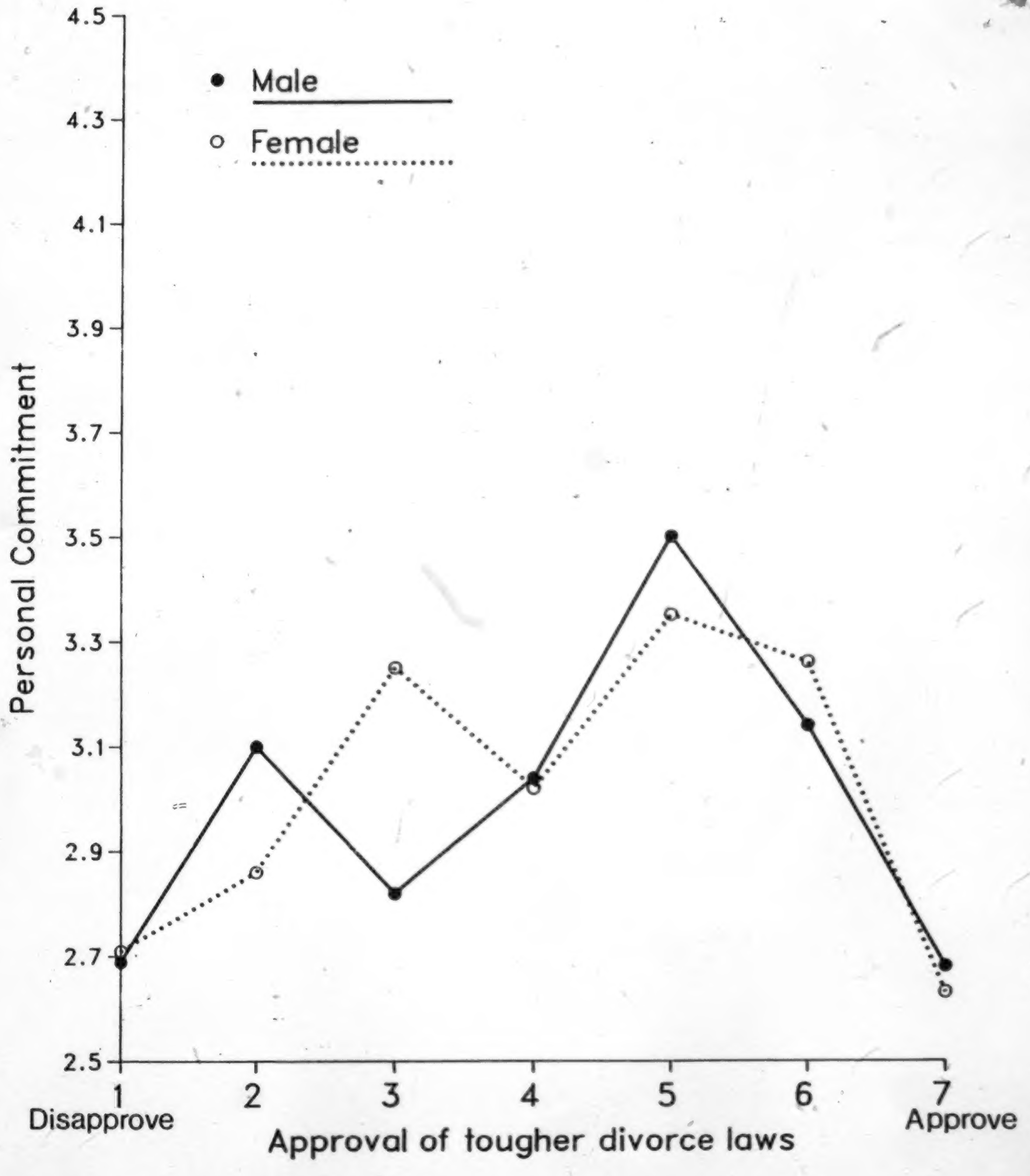
In contrast (see Appendix 5.13), the lowest level of structural commitment (m=5.76) is found among those couples where neither spouse attends church (N=90). The second lowest level (m=6.09) is found among those couples where the husband does not attend but the wife does (N=12). Once again, the highest level of structural commitment (m=6.63) is found among those couples (N=2) where the husband attends but the wife does not, while a slightly lower level (m=6.33) is found among those couples (N=59) where both attend church. These differences are found to be significant (F=5.556, significant at .001 level).

Proposition 17. Liberal divorce laws are inversely related to marital commitment.

Individual data. Personal commitment is not significantly correlated with the approval of respondents for making divorce laws tougher (r=.0168, p=.415 for males and r=.0099, p=.449 for females). An examination of the breakdown of this relationship indicates that both males and females at either extreme of this variable have the lowest levels of personal commitment (Figure 5.14). Those who strongly disapprove of making divorce laws tougher have low levels of personal commitment (m=2.69 for males and 2.71 for females) and those who strongly approve of making divorce laws tougher have the lowest levels of personal commitment (m=2.68 for males and 2.63 for females). These findings are rather difficult to explain. It is plausible, however, that those with the lowest levels of personal commitment would be opposed to making divorce laws tougher, since they may already be contemplating the possibility of divorce and would not want to be confronted by tougher divorce laws. In contrast, those who strongly desire tougher divorce laws may regard external restraints as a key factor in the stability of marriage, and such subjective factors as satisfaction, adjustment, and the quality of marriage in general are not as important. These differences, however, are not significant, so these interpretations should be treated with caution.

Structural commitment shows a strong positive correlation with respondents' approval of tougher divorce laws for both males (r=.3396, p=.000) and females (r=.1711,

FIGURE 5.14 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY TOUGHER DIVORCE LAWS



p=.014), with the relationship being stronger for males than for females, and structural commitment being highest for those who strongly approve of tougher divorce laws. As indicated above, those desiring tougher divorce laws would tend to regard external restraints as an important factor in maintaining the stability of marriage. They would likely also demonstrate the impact of such restraints in their own marital relationships, resulting in a higher level of structural commitment.

Couple data. The relationship between personal commitment and the approval of tougher divorce laws, using the couple mean measurement, is non-significant (r=.0313, p=.345). When the absolute differences between spouses is used as the measurement, however, a significant negative relationship (r=-.2106, p=.003) is found between personal commitment and approval of tougher divorce laws. This indicates that personal commitment declines with the corresponding increase of differences between husband and wife in their approval or disapproval of tougher divorce laws.

A strong positive relationship is found between the couple mean measurement of approval of tougher divorce laws and structural commitment, indicating that structural commitment increases with the approval of tougher divorce laws (r=.3280, p=.000). When the absolute differences between spouses is used as the measurement of approval of tougher divorce laws, the relationship with structural commitment is non-significant (r=-.0966, p=.114), indicating that structural commitment decreases with an increase in the differences between spouses in their approval or disapproval of tougher divorce laws.

The median split measurement (see Appendix 5.14) reveals a different relationship between structural commitment and approval of tougher divorce laws. The weakest relationship (m=5.70) is found when both spouses disapprove of tougher divorce laws. A similar relationship (m=5.75) is found when the husband disapproves and the wife approves of tougher divorce laws. A stronger relationship is found when the husband approves and the wife disapproves of tougher divorce laws (m=6.15), and the strongest relationship between structural commitment and the approval of tougher divorce laws is found when both spouses approve of tougher divorce laws (m=6.38). These differences between groups are significant (F=5.655, SIG=.0011), and indicate that high structural commitment tends to be associated with the approval of tougher divorce laws on the part of the male.

Proposition 18. The presence of children is positively related to marital commitment.

This variable measures the presence of children in the household at the time of the survey, and compares families with children present to those who have none present. No significant relationships are found between personal commitment and the presence of children in the household (r=.1023, p=.090), or between structural commitment and the presence of children in the household (r=.0255, p=.372). The relationship is in the predicted direction, however, with personal commitment being higher when there are children present (m=3.117) than when there are no children present (m=2.843). Structural commitment is also higher when there are children present (m=6.011) than when there are no children present(m=5.964).

> Proposition 19. The presence of pre-school age children is positively related to marital commitment.

This variable included three categories, with those having no children coded as 1, those having school-age children only coded as 2, and those having pre-school age children coded as 3. There is a positive correlation between personal commitment and the presence of pre-school age children (r=.1338, p=.040). The breakdown of levels of personal commitment by the age of children indicates that those couples with no children have the lowest level of personal commitment (m=2.84), those with school age children have a higher level of personal commitment (m=2.95), and those with pre-school age children have the highest level of personal commitment (m=3.29).

The relationship between structural commitment and the presence of pre-school age children is not significant (r=.0101, p=.449). The breakdown of structural commitment indicates that those with pre-school age children have the same level of structural commitment (m=5.97) as those with no children (m=5.96). Those with school age children, on the other hand, have a slightly higher level of structural commitment (m=6.05).

These findings are rather difficult to explain. They do seem to indicate that pre-school age children are not so much seen as an external restraint against marital dissolution (structural commitment), but rather as a source of subjective satisfaction and bonding (personal commitment). It is no surprise that there are no significant differences in structural commitment by age of children. Children, regardless of age, can be seen as structural barriers to separation. On the other hand, pre-school age children would tend to encourage higher levels of emotional response by their very dependence, which would result in higher levels of personal commitment. The differences between groups, however, are not significant.

Proposition 20. The number of children is positively related to marital commitment.

Individual data. The relationship between personal commitment and the number of children is not significant for either the husband (r=-.0062, p=.468) or the wife (r=-.0317, p=.340).

The relationship between structural commitment and the number of children is significant for both husband (r=.1390, p=.038) and wife (r=.1672, p=.016), but the relationship is somewhat stronger for the wife.

Couple data. When the couple mean is used in the measurement of the number of children, no relationship is found between personal commitment and the number of children (r=-.0150, p=.423). When the absolute differences in the number of children between husband and wife is used, however, a significant negative relationship (r=-.1530, p=.023) is found between this measure and personal commitment. It needs to be remembered that there may be a difference in the number of children for husbands and wives if either has been in a previous marriage or experienced single parenthood. An examination of this variable indicates that in 152 cases (85%) there are no differences in the number of children between husband and wife. There is a difference of 1 child in 10 cases, 2 children in eight cases, 3 children in five cases, 4 children in one case, and 6 children in one case. Thus, as absolute differences increase in the number of children between spouses, personal commitment tends to decrease. These findings suggest that the presence of children from a previous relationship has a negative impact on personal commitment. The implications for blended marriages will require further research and analysis.

The median split measure (see Appendix 5.15) divides the sample on the basis of those who have no children, as opposed to those who have children. The lowest levels of personal commitment are found when the husband has children but the wife does not (N=4, m=2.38), or when the wife has children but the husband does not (N=10, m=2.55). The highest levels of personal commitment are found when both husband and wife have children(N=116, m=3.03) or when neither has children (N=41, m=3.07). Although these differences are not significant, they lend some support to the finding that the presence of children from a previous marriage has a negative impact on personal commitment.

A significant relationship (r=.1544, p=.024) is found between structural commitment and the number of children of couples, as measured by the couple mean, indicating that structural commitment increases with an increase in the number of children of a couple. In contrast, when absolute differences in the number of children between husband and wife is used, a near-significant negative relationship (r=-.1081, p=.084) is found between this measure and structural commitment. As absolute differences in the number of children between spouses increase, structural commitment decreases dramatically.

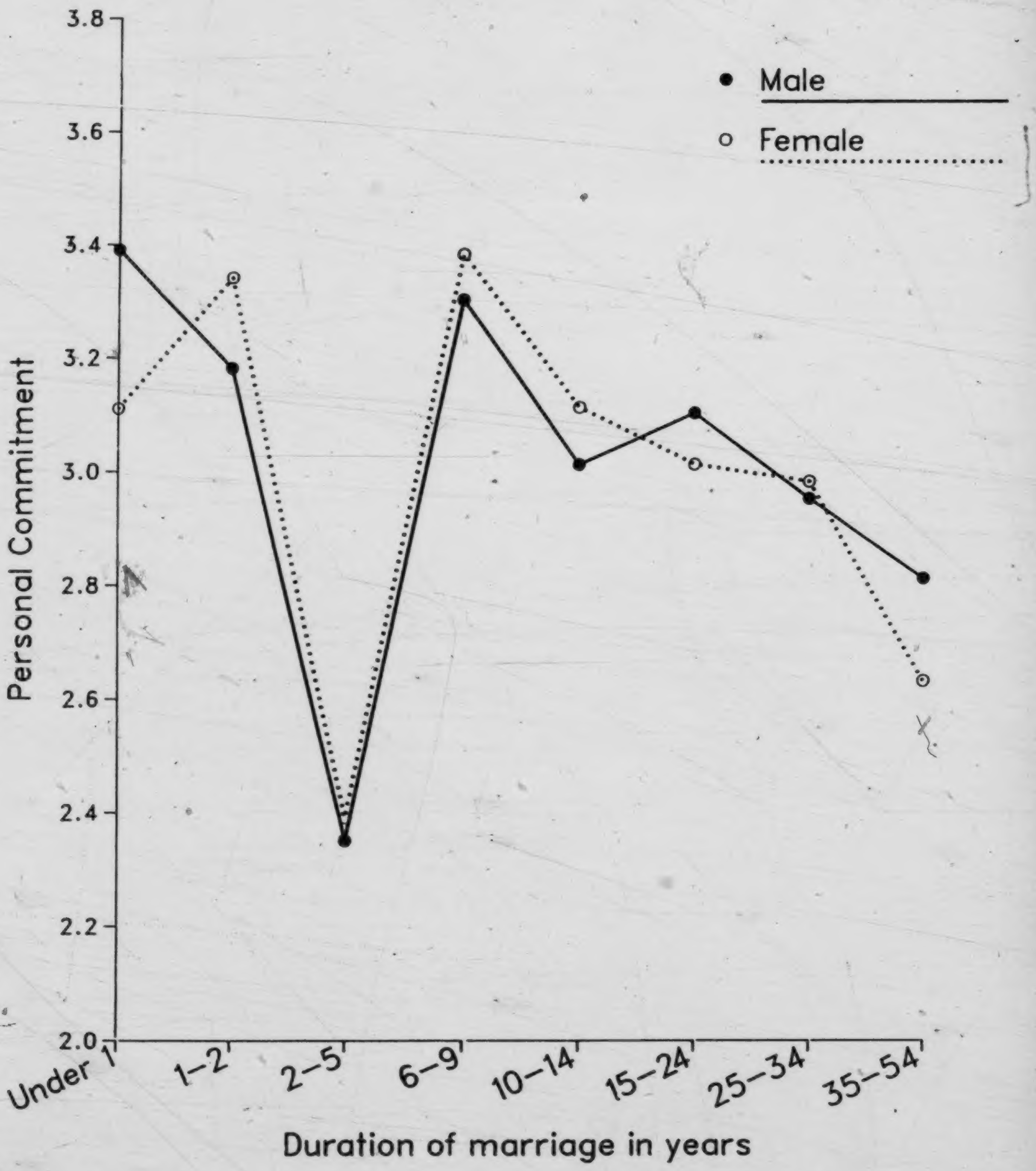
The median split measure (see Appendix 5.16) finds approximately equal levels of structural commitment among those couples where the wife has children but the husband does not (N=10, m=5.66), those where the husband has children but the wife does not (N=4, m=5.69), and those in which neither spouse has children (N=40, m=5.75). The highest level of structural commitment is demonstrated by those couples where both spouses have children (N=110, m=6.14). These differences are significant (F=2.5236, SIG=.0597), and indicate that the presence of children from a previous marriage has a negative impact on structural commitment, as well as on personal commitment. In fact, both personal and structural commitment are higher for those couples who have no children, than for those in which either spouse has children but the other has none.

> Proposition 21. Duration of marriage is positively related to marital commitment.

A non-significant negative relationship is found between personal commitment and the duration of marriage of males (r=-.0653, p=.198) and females (r=-.0696, p=.183). The breakdown of personal commitment by duration of marriage of males (Figure 5.15) reveals that the highest level of personal commitment is demonstrated by those married less than a year (m=3.39). Those married one to two years show a slight decline (m=3.18), while the lowest level of personal commitment is experienced by those married three to five years (m=2.35). Those married six to nine years demonstrate the second highest level of personal commitment (m=3.30), following which there is a consistent decline in personal commitment, reaching its second lowest point for those married over 35 years (m=2.81).

The breakdown of personal commitment by duration of marriage of females reveals a similar pattern. A high level of commitment is found for those females married for 2 years or less. The lowest level of personal commitment is experienced by those married three to five years (N=26,

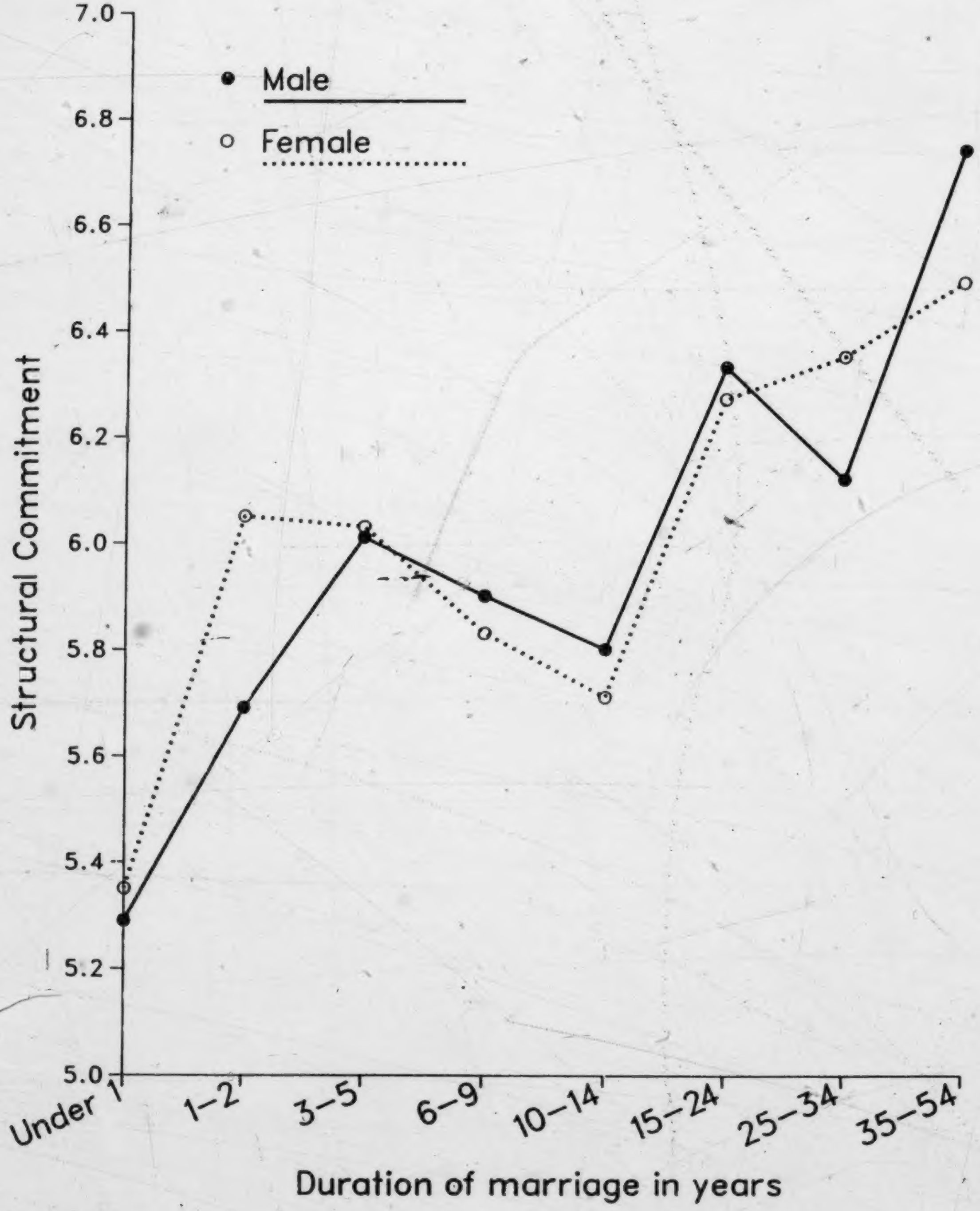
FIGURE 5.15 BREAKDOWN OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE



m=2.39). Females married six to nine years exhibit the highest level of personal commitment (m=3.38), following which there is a consistent decline. These patterns suggest that the highest levels of frustration in marriage are experienced between the third and fifth years of marriage. This period would frequently be associated with the beginning of childbearing, which is related to a decrease in marital happiness (Burr, 1970; Campbell, 1975; Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Rollins & Feldman, 1970). These differences, however, are not significant for either males (F=1.098) or females (F=1.363), and must therefore be interpreted with some caution.

A significant positive relationship is found between structural commitment and the duration of marriage of males (r=.2920, p=.000) and of females (r=.3074, p=.000). The breakdown of this relationship (Figure 5.16)indicates that the lowest level of structural commitment is experienced by those married less than one year (m=5.29), and that the level of structural commitment generally increases with an increase in the number of years married, reaching its highest level for those married more than 35 years (m=6.74). These findings indicate that personal commitment tends to decrease with the duration of marriage, whereas structural commitment shows a significant increase with the duration of marriage. Personal relationships within marriage may weaken with the passage of time, but external restraints definitely become stronger with the duration of marriage.

FIGURE 5.16 BREAKDOWN OF STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE



B. Multiple Regression Analysis

A number of multiple regression equations were run with personal commitment as the dependent variable. The application of multiple regression analysis to the data permits the prediction or estimation of a single dependent variable from any number of independent variables. This indicates how much of the total variation in the dependent variable can be explained by all of the independent variables acting together, as well as the contribution of each independent variable when the effects of the other independent variables have been controlled. Stepwise regression analysis was used which permits the variable that explains the most remaining criterion variance to enter the equation at each step.

The first regression equation included the ten predictor variables that were significantly related to personal commitment, and the second included an additional seven independent and control variables that had achieved significant or near-significant (r=.08) relationships with personal commitment. A final equation was run including those variables which had entered the previous equations. Four variables entered the regression equation in the following order: male educational level, male religious participation (church attendance), male satisfaction with family life, and the number of months the wife was employed full-time during the previous year. These four variables jointly explained approximately 19% (ADJRSQ=.1879) of the variance in personal commitment (See Table 5.5).

Two of the four variables entering the final regression equation are measures of predisposing background characteristics: male educational level and number of months the female was employed full-time during the past year. Personal commitment increases with an increase in male educational level. Since those females employed full-time for 12 months were coded as 1, those employed full-time from 1 to 11 months were coded as 2, and those not employed full-time were coded as 3, the positive correlation indicates that personal commitment decreases with an increase in the number of months females are employed full-time.

The remaining two variables are measures of total interaction reward/tension balance (male satisfaction with family life), and of normative constraints (male religious participation or church attendance). Personal commitment tends to decrease with increase in male satisfaction with family life, and tends to increase with increases in male religious participation.

The summary table (Table 5.5) indicates that the multiple R and the multiple RSQ increase substantially as each additional variable enters the regression equation. With only the first variable (male educational level) in the equation, the multiple RSQ value is .0980, but with all four variables in the regression equation the multiple RSQ value has increased to .2080.

TABLE 5.5 MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT

VARIABLES IN THE EQUATION

PREDICTOR VARIABLES	BETA	CORR	PART CORR	PARTIAL CORR	T	SIG T
H Educational Level	.310	.313	.308	.327	4.34	.000
H Church Attendance	.221	.265	.219	.239	3.09	.002
H Satis. Family Life	-.183	-.189	-.180	-.199	-.255	.012
W Full-time Employ.	.161	.112	.158	.175	2.24	.027

SUMMARY TABLE

STEP	MULTR	RSQ	ADJRSQ	F(EQU)	SIG F	RSQCH	LABEL
1	.3131	.0980	.0924	17.50	.000	.0980	H Educational Level
2	.3962	.1570	.1465	14.90	.000	.0590	H Church Attendance
3	.4277	.1829	.1675	11.86	.000	.0259	H Satisfaction Family Life
4	.4561	.2080	.1879	10.37	.000	.0251	W Full-time Employment

A number of multiple regression equations were also run with structural commitment as the dependent variable. The first equation included the thirty-one predictor variables that were significantly related to structural commitment, and the second included an additional five independent and control variables that had achieved significant or near-significant (r=.08) relationships with structural commitment. A final equation was run including those variables which had entered the previous equations. Five variables entered the regression equation in the following order: individualism, number of times married for wives, wife satisfaction with family life, male religious preference, and wife's happiness in the relationship. These five variables jointly explained approximately 45% (ADJRSQ=.4472) of the variation in structural commitment (See Table 5.6).

An examination of the variables that enter the final regression equation on structural commitment indicate that three of the five variables are measures of total interaction reward/tension balance: individualism, female satisfaction with family life, and female happiness in the marriage relationship. As individualism increases, the level of structural commitment decreases. In contrast, female satisfaction with family life and happiness in the marriage are positively related to structural commitment. The remaining two variables which enter the regression equation are measures of what has been theoretically defined as normative constraints: the number of times the female has been married, and the religious affiliation of the male. The number of times the female has been married is not so much a measure of the impact of divorce, since those who were married only once have a somewhat lower level of structural commitment (m=6.09) than those who have been married twice (m=6.39). It is rather a measure of the impact of living common law, with those females who have never been married showing a very low level of structural commitment (m=4.49). The religious affiliation of the male suggests that structural commitment increases as we move from those with

TABLE 5.6 MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT

VARIABLES IN THE EQUATION

PREDICTOR VARIABLES	BETA	CORR	PART CORR	PARTIAL CORR	T	SIG T
Individualism	-.337	-.475	-.319	-.402	-4.66	.000
W Number of Times Married	-.314	-.428	-.306	-.388	-4.47	.000
W Satisfaction Family	.188	.409	.158	.212	2.31	.023
H Religious Preference	.161	.296	.155	.209	2.27	.025
W Happiness in Relationship	.171	.305	.148	.200	2.17	.033

SUMMARY TABLE

STEP	MULTR	RSQ	ADJRSQ	F(EQU)	SIG F	RSQCH	LABEL
1	.4749	.2255	.2189	34.07	.000	.226	Individualism
2	.5944	.3533	.3421	31.68	.000	.128	W Number of Times Married
3	.6545	.4284	.4135	28.73	.000	.075	W Satisfaction Family Life
4	.6698	.4487	.4293	23.19	.000	.020	H Religious Preference
5	.6860	.4706	.4472	20.09	.000	.022	W Happiness in Relationship

no religious affiliation (m=5.51), to those in mainline denominations (m=5.92), to those affiliated with different branches of the Catholic church (m=6.14) to those affiliated with conservative churches (m=6.49).

None of the measures of predisposing background characteristics or of external constraints entered the regression equation on structural commitment. Three of the five variables entering the regression equation are measures of female characteristics.

In summary, the multiple regression of the five independent variables on structural commitment produced a highly significant relationship, explaining approximately 45% (ADJRSQ=.4472) of the variation in the dependent variable. The summary table (Table 5.6) indicates that the multiple R and the multiple RSQ increase substantially as each additional variable enters the regression equation. With only the first variable (individualism) in the equation, the multiple RSQ value is .2255, but with all five variables in the equation it has increased to .4706. These five variables therefore serve as powerful predictors of structural commitment.

This chapter examined the relationship between various indicators of marital stability and both personal and structural commitment. The findings indicate support for fifteen of the twenty-one propositions relating predictor variables to either personal or structural commitment.

Support for the relationship between predictor variables and personal commitment is not strong. A total of eleven indicators were significantly related to personal commitment, of which six were measures of socioeconomic status. Four variables entered the regression equation, jointly explaining approximately 19% of the variance in personal commitment.

In contrast, a total of thirty-two indicators were significantly related to structural commitment. Five variables entered the regression equation, jointly explaining approximately 45% of the variance in structural commitment.

The next chapter provides a summary of the key findings for each of the four theoretical constructs, as well as a discussion of the significance of these findings. It also examines the relationship between marital quality and marital commitment, and concludes that, while there are important areas of overlap, there are also significant differences which justify a more detailed examination of marital commitment. A number of directions are suggested for further research.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

This study investigated how the empirically established correlates of marital stability are related to measures of marital commitment. Twenty-one propositions measuring predisposing background characteristics, total interaction reward/tension balance, normative constraints, and external restraints were related to personal and structural commitment.

A. Summary of Findings

A considerable body of empirical research supports the hypothesis that *predisposing background characteristics* make an important contribution to marital stability. Based on this research, seven propositions were formulated to test the relationship between marital commitment and measures of age differences, age at first marriage, differences in educational level, female educational level, wife employment, religious homogamy, and socioeconomic factors. These variables were expected to be related primarily to personal commitment.

Significant relationships were discovered between four variables and personal commitment. All of these variables are measures of socioeconomic factors, and include male level of education, the socioeconomic status index, male level of income, and female level of education.

Both male and female educational level are positively related to personal commitment. Higher levels of education are associated with a greater degree of personal commitment. Some support is found, however, for the proposition that female graduate school education is inversely related to marital commitment. Females completing a graduate school education demonstrate a lower level of personal commitment (m=3.56) than those completing a bachelor's degree (m=3.83). A similar breakdown of male level of education, however, reveals a similar pattern. Males completing graduate school education demonstrate a lower level of personal commitment (m=3.63) than those completing a bachelor's degree (m=4.05). A further breakdown of graduate educational level by educational level of spouse indicates that the lower levels of personal commitment among individuals (both male and female) completing graduate level education are accounted for by differences in educational level, particularly for females.

While educational level is positively related to personal commitment for both males and females, it is negatively related to structural commitment for males (r=-.1552, p=.023), but this relationship does not achieve significance for females (r=-.0567, p=.234). As the level of education increases, personal commitment increases significantly for both males and females. As the level of education increases, structural commitment decreases significantly for males, but shows no real change for females. In other words, as the male's level of education increases, external restraints become less important and internal resolve becomes more important in maintaining a marriage. In contrast, as the female's level of education increases, there is a corresponding increase in personal commitment, but no real change in structural commitment.

This finding is unexpected in view of the predictions that as female education increases, the external barriers to marital dissolution would decrease, since the female would have other viable alternatives to the marriage (Levinger, 1965; Nye *et al*., 1973; Lewis & Spanier, 1979). The correlation of wife employment by female level of education indicates that the likelihood of a female working full-time increases with an increase in her educational level ($r=.2142$, $p=.003$). Also, female level of income increases as the proportion of females working full-time increases ($r=.3342$, $p=.000$). These increases, however, are not accompanied by a decrease in the level of structural commitment, as would have been expected.

This suggests that external restraints are more powerful among men at lower educational levels, but have little influence among men at higher educational levels, where personal relationships become more important. In contrast, structural commitment shows no relationship with female educational level, but it is noteworthy that the lowest level of structural commitment is found among females at the graduate level, indicating that external constraints have the least influence at this level.

The relationships between commitment and income demonstrate a different pattern than relationships between commitment and education. While male income is positively related to personal commitment (r=.2246, p=.002), female income is not significantly related to personal commitment (r=-.0541, p=.245). Male income is not significantly related to female income (r=-.0254,p=.374). We can conclude that an increase in male income is associated with an increase in personal commitment, but that an increase in female income may be associated with a weakening of personal commitment. An increase in female income may be associated with an increase in independence, which is supported by the positive relationship (r=.3811, p=.000) between female income and individualism.

An examination of the breakdown of personal commitment by female income indicates that the relationship is U-shaped, with a high level of personal commitment (m=3.05) among the 107 females whose annual income is below $10,000 (65% of the sample), the lowest level of personal commitment (m=2.68) among the 46 females whose annual income is between $10,000 and $20,000 (27% of the sample), and the highest level of personal commitment (m=3.35) among the 12 females with an annual income above $20,000 (7.3% of the sample).

A further breakdown of personal commitment by female income by wife employment indicates that the high level of personal commitment among those making less than $10,000 is accounted for primarily by females who are not working outside the home. A substantial difference in personal commitment is found between those working full-time (N=17, m=2.84) and those not working outside the home (N=54, m=3.20). An even lower level of personal commitment is found among females working full-time and making between $10,000 and $20,000 (N=35, m=2.67). In contrast, the highest level of personal commitment is found among females working full-time with an annual salary above $20,000 (N=10, m=3.65). We can conclude that females who must work full-time at low salary levels demonstrate the lowest levels of personal commitment. Females who do not work show substantially higher levels of personal commitment, but the highest levels of personal commitment are found among females at high salary levels, who are probably working at the level of some career.

A contrasting finding is that wife employment is negatively related to structural commitment (r=.2691, p=.000). Structural commitment increases as we move from those wives who are working full-time (m=5.74) to those who are working part-time (m=6.03) to those who do not work outside the home (m=6.26). In addition, the attitude of the husband to his wife's employment has a definite effect on both personal and structural commitment. When the husband perceives the effect of his wife's working as positive, both personal and structural commitment are higher than when he perceives the effect as negative, and this is particularly true for those wives who work full-time.

In summary, socioeconomic indicators are positively related to personal commitment, particularly for males. Male education, female education, male income, and the socioeconomic status index are all positively related to personal commitment. Wife employment is negatively related to structural commitment, and male education is negatively related to structural commitment.

No relationships are found between either personal or structural commitment and age differences between spouses, age at first marriage, differences in educational level, or religious homogamy. A near-significant positive relationship is found between structural commitment and male age at first marriage (r=.1056, p=.089), indicating that structural commitment tends to increase with an increase in male age at first marriage. Similarly a near-significant positive relationship (r=.1233, p=.060) is found between structural commitment and religious homogamy. When age at first marriage is correlated with the number of times an individual has been divorced, a significant negative relationship (r=-.1981, p=.004) is found between female age at first marriage and the number of times the female has been divorced.

The second general proposition asserts that the *total interaction reward/tension balance* within a marriage is related to personal commitment. Four propositions were formulated to test the relationship between marital commitment and the variables measuring marital satisfaction, individualism, marital violence, and interpersonal perception. A rather surprising finding is that most measures of the four propositions are related to structural commitment, and that only two measures are related to personal commitment (husband's satisfaction with family life, and husband's interpersonal perception).

Five variables measured the relationship between marital satisfaction and structural commitment, and all of these measures are significant. Positive relationships are found between structural commitment and male happiness in the relationship (r=.1943, p=.006), female happiness in the relationship (r=.3050, p=.000), male satisfaction with family life (r=.2924, p=.000), female satisfaction with family life (r=.4088, p=.000), and the composite scale of marital satisfaction (r=.2756, p=.000). We can therefore conclude that there is a strong positive relationship between marital satisfaction and structural commitment, and that this is particularly the case for females.

While a strong positive relationship is found between structural commitment and the reported satisfaction with family life of both males and females, a surprising finding is that reported satisfaction with family life is negatively related to personal commitment at a non-significant level for females (r=-.0531, p=.244), but at a significant level for males (r=-.1893, p=.006). There is no clear explanation for this finding. Macionis (1978) suggested that marital structure may intervene between persons, so that with the passing of time individuals increasingly "take each other for granted" in their interactions, with the result that structure actually weakens relationships. In other words, strong structural commitment may be associated with weak personal commitment. An examination of the data, however, reveals that the relationship between structural commitment and satisfaction with family life is even stronger for females (r=.4088) than for males (r=.2924), but the level of their personal commitment does not change with changes in satisfaction with family life.

The measure of individualism is a composite index consisting of five variables. This individualism index demonstrates a very strong negative relationship (r=-.4749, p=.000) with structural commitment, suggesting that structural commitment decreases as individualism increases. Structural commitment decreases with the approval by individuals of the following: a married woman working if she has pre-school age children, and a husband capable of supporting her; a married couple not bearing or rearing children; a couple living together without being legally married, two men or two women openly living together in a "marriage-like" relationship; and a married person having sexual intercourse with someone else's spouse.

Growing concern is expressed over the increasing incidence of marital and family violence, and its possible impact on marital stability. Some evidence is found for the hypothesis that marital violence contributes to a decrease in marital commitment. The data provide reports by both males and females that either spouse insulted or swore at the other, or that either spouse stomped out of the room or house. The increase of the above behaviour is associated with a decrease in structural commitment, but is unrelated to personal commitment. The variables measuring whether the individual has ever been punched or beaten by another person, whether this happened as a child or an adult, and how often it happened were unrelated to either personal or structural commitment.

Five variables measuring three different levels of interpersonal perception are available in the data. Of these, only the accuracy of the husband's interpersonal perception (measuring LEVEL III perception) is related to personal commitment (r=-.1505, p=.040). It may appear rather surprising that it is the husband's rather than the wife's interpersonal perception that is related to personal commitment. Studies of sex differences in perception (Dymond, 1953; Luckey, 1960) have found women to be no more or less perceptive or insightful than men. If this is the case, then we can assume that those husbands who are more accurate in their interpersonal perception would be more sensitive in their interpersonal relationships, and that this would contribute to a greater sense of personal commitment within the marriage relationship.

The third general proposition suggests that *normative constraints* make a contribution to marital commitment that is independent from structural constraints, and such constraints are primarily related to structural commitment. Five propositions were formulated to test the relationship between marital commitment and the variables measuring social affiliations, kinship ties, previous divorce, conservative religious preference, and religious participation. Structural commitment increases with the number of adults in the neighbourhood known by name by either spouse, but this relationship is significant only for males. Similarly, structural commitment increases with the frequency with which individuals get together with neighbours for a chat, but this relationship is significant only for females. No relationships are found between structural commitment and the frequency of visiting friends who live outside the neighbourhood. This may simply reflect the fact that many people's friends may live in the same neighbourhood, and consequently this variable would not be a good measure of social affiliations. The strong relationship between structural commitment and length of time lived in Edmonton or in the present residence indicates that low mobility is associated with high structural commitment.

The evidence suggests that the impact of social affiliations on marital commitment is somewhat mixed. The more direct measures of social affiliation indicate a rather weak relationship, which suggests that others have increasingly less influence on our decisions. On the other hand, indirect measures of the length of time lived in the same residence or in Edmonton suggest that high mobility may be associated with a decrease in social integration, with a corresponding decrease in structural commitment.

Strong kinship ties are not associated with marital commitment, but the relationship between structural commitment and strong kinship ties is in the predicted direction, and almost achieves significance for females (r=-.1073, p=.084). A recent study (Bellah _et al_., 1985) suggests that we are ambivalent about kinship in our individualistic society. On the one hand, family is valued highly as one of the contexts in which others can be counted on nearly unconditionally but, on the other hand, we are wary of the possible restraints that kinship involvements may place on our individual decision making.

A previous divorce is not related to either the personal or structural commitment of males. A strong negative relationship is found between structural commitment and previous divorce on the part of females, but no relationship is found between personal commitment and previous female divorce. A frequent finding is that females are more likely to initiate a divorce than males (Goode, 1956; McKie, 1982) The individual who initiates a divorce must realistically confront the external constraints against securing a divorce, and these constraints would subsequently be less threatening and stigmatizing. Although previous divorce is not related to personal commitment for either males or females, a rather interesting finding of the median split measurement is that the highest level of personal commitment is found among those couples where both husband and wife have experienced a previous divorce. Previous divorce may be associated with an internal resolve to make the present marriage work, but it is also associated with the weakening of external barriers to future marital breakup, particularly for females.

Conservative religious affiliation is not related to personal commitment, but a rather interesting finding is that the lowest level of personal commitment for males is found among those of conservative religious affiliation. In contrast, the highest level of structural commitment is found among those of conservative religious affiliation. Religious doctrine may be seen as an external barrier against dissolving a marriage, but it shows no necessary relationship to resolve to make the marriage work, or to improve the quality of marriage. In fact, the perception of strong external barriers to divorce may contribute to a weakening of personal commitment, because the stability of the marriage is perceived to be more dependent on the theological barriers to divorce than on building strong personal relationships. It may also be possible that conservative religious affiliation is associated with more traditional role relationships in marriage which emphasize instrumental rather than expressive relationships.

Religious participation is strongly related to both personal and structural commitment for both males and females. This finding is in keeping with a vast amount of research literature.

We can conclude that social affiliations, the experience of previous divorce on the part of females, conservative religious affiliation, and religious participation are normative constraints that influence the level of structural commitment within the marriage relationship.

The fourth general proposition indicates that *external constraints on marriage relationships* are related to structural commitment. Five propositions set out the expected relationships between structural commitment and the variables measuring the approval of tougher divorce laws, the presence of children, the age of children, the number of children, and the duration of marriage.

The approval of tougher divorce laws is associated with the structural commitment of both males and females. The existence of tougher divorce laws would serve as an external constraint against the termination of marriage, but would not necessarily be related to improving the quality of marriage, or the inner resolve to make marriage work. An interesting finding is that the lowest levels of personal commitment are found among those who strongly approve of making divorce laws tougher as well as among those who strongly disapprove of making divorce laws tougher.

It has long been argued that children have a positive impact on marital commitment, and that children would mainly serve as external constraints against dissolving the marriage. It is found, however, that structural commitment is not related to either the presence of children in the household, or to the age of children. Structural commitment is positively related to the number of children, which indicates that structural commitment increases with an increase in the number of children. The presence of pre-school age children is related to personal commitment, with the highest levels of personal commitment found among spouses with pre-school children. These findings lend support to the research of Yankelovich (1981), who suggests that today's parents expect to make fewer sacrifices for their children than did parents in the past, and that nearly two-thirds of all American parents reject the idea that parents should continue to live together for the sake of their children despite the fact that the parents are unhappy with each other. Parents also feel that although it involves spending less time with their children, they should be free to live their own lives.

As predicted, the duration of marriage is also positively related to structural commitment which indicates that structural commitment increases with an increase in the duration of marriage.

In summary, the approval of tougher divorce laws, the duration of marriage, and the number of children are positively related to structural commitment for both males and females. The presence of children and the age of children are not related to structural commitment, but the presence of pre-school age children is related to personal commitment.

The multiple regression of predictor variables on personal commitment results in the entry of four variables in the regression equation, which jointly explain approximately 20% of the variation in personal commitment. The multiple regression analysis indicates that personal commitment is strongly related to predisposing background characteristics, and that male variables are better predictors of personal commitment than female variables.

The multiple regression of predictor variables on structural commitment results in the entry of five variables jointly explaining approximately 45% of the variation in structural commitment. Three of the variables are measures of total interaction reward/tension balance (individualism, female satisfaction with family life, and female happiness in marriage). The other two variables are measures of normative constraints (the number of times the female has been married, and the religious affiliation of the male).

This study has investigated the relationships between measures of marital commitment and various indicators which were found to be related to marital stability in recent empirical research. The primary attempt to place many of these empirical findings in theoretical perspective (Lewis &

Spanier, 1979) relates many of these indicators to marital stability through their contribution to marital quality. The present study made the basic assumption that the proposed indicators may be related to marital stability through their possible contribution to marital commitment.

The question that remains to be answered is whether marital quality and marital commitment are essentially the same, or whether they differ in important respects. It is certainly to be expected that there will be a great deal of overlap, in that marriages demonstrating high quality should also demonstrate high commitment, and marriages demonstrating low quality would normally be expected to demonstrate low commitment. Are there any systematic variations which would help to explain the anomolous findings of high quality/low stability and low quality/high stability marriages?

The data contain four measures of marital quality: male and female measures of satisfaction with family life, and male and female measures of happiness in the marital relationship. A strong positive relationship is found between structural commitment and male satisfaction with family life (r=.2924, p=.000), female satisfaction with family life (r=.4088, p=.000), male happiness in the relationship (r=.1943, p=.006), and female happiness in the relationship (r=.3051, p=.000). In contrast, personal commitment is negatively related to male satisfaction with family life (r=-.1893, p=.006), but is not related to the other measures of marital quality.

The relationships between marital commitment and the indicators of marital stability used in this study were then compared to the relationships between these same indicators and the measures of marital quality. As expected, a large number of indicators showed similar relationships to marital commitment and to marital quality, indicating that marital commitment and marital quality are tapping some of the same dimensions of marital stability. But some important differences were also found, indicating that marital commitment is tapping some dimensions of marital stability that marital quality does not.

The composite socioeconomic index is positively related to personal commitment (r=.2532, p=.001), is negatively related to female satisfaction with family life (r=-.1752, p=.016), but is not related to any other measures of marital quality. Female satisfaction with family life tends to decline with an increase in socioeconomic status, but personal commitment tends to increase in comparison. This may be an example of low quality/high stability marriage, where the quality of marriage is low for the female, but the relationship is maintained because of the socioeconomic rewards in the marriage which contribute to high personal commitment.

A similar relationship is found with respect to number of children of both husband and wife. Number of children of the husband is positively related to structural commitment (r=.1390, p=.038), but is negatively related to male happiness in the relationship (r=-.1346, p=.037) and to female happiness in the relationship (r=-.2141, p=.002). Number of children of the wife is positively related to structural commitment (r=.1672, p=.016), but is negatively related to female happiness in the relationship (r=-.1484, p=.024). In contrast, the number of children of either husband or wife is not related to satisfaction with family life. This finding indicates that the number of children has a negative impact on happiness in the marital relationship, but that it does not affect happiness with family life, and it does contribute to greater structural commitment. While the socioeconomic index is related to low marital quality and high personal commitment, number of children is related to low marital quality and high structural commitment.

A number of variables are related to measures of marital commitment, but are not related to measures of marital quality. Duration of marriage is related to high structural commitment (r=.2920, p=.000), but is not significantly related to either male or female satisfaction with family life, or to male or female happiness in the marital relationship.

Male educational level is positively related to personal commitment (r=.3131, p=.000) and negatively related to structural commitment (r=-.1552, p=.023), but shows no significant relationships to any of the measures of marital quality. As male educational level increases personal commitment increases and structural commitment decreases, but marital quality shows no change with differences in educational level. Similarly, male income is positively related to personal commitment (r=.2246, p=.002), but is not significantly related to measures of marital quality. A similar relationship is found for male religious participation or church attendance. Male church attendance is related to *both* personal commitment (r=.2646, p=.000) and structural commitment (r=.2541, p=.001), but is not related to either male or female measures of satisfaction with family life, or to male or female measures of happiness in the marital relationship. It can be concluded that a number of indicators of marital stability are related to marital commitment, but are not related to marital quality.

There are also a number of variables that are related to measures of marital quality, but are not related to measures of marital commitment. A negative relationship (r=-.1863, p=.007), is found between the measure of violence that indicates that an individual has been punched or beaten by another and male satisfaction with family life. No relationship is found between this measure of violence and either personal or structural commitment. The experience of violence tends to decrease marital quality, but has no impact on marital commitment.

A number of the measures of interpersonal perception are negatively related to measures of marital quality, indicating that as the accuracy of interpersonal perception decreases, marital quality also tends to decrease. These measures of interpersonal perception (with the exception of the husband's interpersonal perception index) are not related, however, to marital commitment.

We can therefore conclude that, although there is a great deal of overlap between marital quality and marital commitment, marital commitment systematically measures different facets of marital stability than what is being measured by marital quality. Evidence is found to support the supposition that certain low quality marriages may demonstrate high levels of stability because of a high level of personal and/or structural commitment. Evidence is also found that certain variables which are unrelated to measures of marital quality, nevertheless make an important contribution to marital commitment. Also, variables unrelated to marital commitment show consistent relationships to marital quality.

It is therefore concluded that measures of marital commitment systematically differ from measures of marital quality in important areas. In order to have a complete and accurate understanding of marital stability, it is necessary to more fully investigate the impact of marital commitment.

B. Directions for Further Research

This study makes an important contribution to the analysis of marital stability. Earlier studies have been primarily devoted to discovering demographic correlates of marital stability, but have lacked a clear theoretical focus (Hicks & Platt, 1970; Spanier & Lewis, 1980). Those studies that have provided a theoretical approach (Johnson, 1978; Clayton, 1975; Reiss, 1980) fail to provide empirical support for their formulations. More recent attempts to unite theory and empirical research (Levinger, 1965; Nye _et al_., 1973; Lewis & Spanier, 1979) have concluded that marital quality is the key determinant of marital stability. Marital quality, however, fails to account for low quality/high stability marriages or high quality/low stability marriages. This study provides preliminary evidence that marital commitment is capable of providing explanations for some of the previous anomalies, and that marital commitment systematically differs from marital quality in its relationships to empirical predictors of marital stability.

A glaring weakness of much of the previous research is that it is based on the responses of one family member only (Olson & McCubbin, 1983), and fails to take account of the fact that marriage is characterized by interaction between husband and wife, and consequently requires a consistent comparison of husband-wife scores. This study is unique in that it gathered data from both members of the marital dyad, making it possible to analyze the impact of similar and/or discrepant husband-wife scores. It ~~is difficul~~t to make comparisons utilizing this data base because other studies have not utilized this approach. This approach does help to explain many of the unexpected findings utilizing individual responses from husband and wives. The analyses provided in the findings and discussion chapter reveal that couple data adds important clarification of relationships in the following areas:

1. Proposition 2 - Age at first marriage.
2. Proposition 3 - Spousal differences in educational level.
3. Proposition 4 - Graduate school education.
4. Proposition 7 - Socioeconomic index.
5. Proposition 8 - Marital satisfaction.
6. Proposition 10 - Marital violence.
7. Proposition 14 - Previous divorce.
8. Proposition 16 - Religious participation.
9. Proposition 17 - Liberal divorce laws.
10. Proposition 20 - Number of children.

Future research will need to utilize this method, and will need to develop further methods for analyzing the meaning and significance of discrepant scores.

One of the significant findings of this study is that commitment, particularly structural commitment, is a strong variable in terms of its relationships with those correlates which have been unquestionably related to marital stability in previous empirical research. Of the ten variables related to personal commitment, seven were significant at or beyond the .01 level, and three of these were significant at or beyond the .001 level. The strongest predictor (male level of education) explained nearly 10% (r=.3131) of the variation in personal commitment. The regression of four variables on personal commitment explains 20% of the variance in personal commitment. Of the thirty-one variables related to structural commitment, twenty-one are significant at or beyond the .01 level, and sixteen are significant at or beyond the .001 level. The strongest predictor of structural commitment (individualism) explained nearly 17% (r=.4088) of the variance in structural commitment. The regression of five variables on structural commitment explains 45% of the variance in structural commitment.

The results of this study indicate that further research should be carried out with respect to marital commitment and its relationships to marital stability. A number of suggestions can be made to increase the effectiveness of future studies.

The key requirement for further research in the area of marital commitment is the clarification and elaboration of the concept of commitment, particularly personal commitment. The concept of commitment used in this study is theoretically based on Johnson's (1978) formulation, but is not a direct replication of his study because of the inability to secure his questionnaire, and because the number of questions submitted for inclusion in the Edmonton Area Survey had to be restricted. The personal commitment scale is based on only four items which achieved an alpha of .60626. Despite the fact that the scale did not achieve an acceptable level of alpha, it was used for other theoretical and methodological reasons. The research indicates that its use provides important explanatory benefits in understanding commitment, and that personal and structural commitment demonstrate consistent differences. Nevertheless, as already indicated, it is quite apparent that the personal commitment scale does not provide a consistent measure. Problems of formulation and operationalization require further development.

In the area of formulation, the matter of definition requires further clarification. Johnson defines personal commitment as a strong personal dedication (1973), or as a determination to continue (1978), including attitudes, definition of self, and internalized moral obligation. In its most basic sense, personal commitment needs to outline the kinds of conditions under which termination of the relationship becomes a viable consideration; such as, physical illness (length and duration), mental illness (length and duration), incarceration, economic disaster, lack of economic support, emotional and/or physical incompatibility, unfaithfulness, loss of attractiveness, marital violence, and other possible factors.

The problem of operationalization of personal commitment is to develop a scale which provides different levels of commitment. The Spanier Dyadic Adjustment Scale (Spanier, 1976) seeks to provide different levels in its six-point scale. The highest level of commitment is represented by the statement: "I want desperately for my relationship to succeed, and would go almost to any length to see that it does." The lowest level is represented by the statement: "My relationship can never succeed, and there is nothing more that I can do to keep it going." This scale, however, is very general, and fails to relate personal commitment to the kinds of practical conditions which may either erode or strengthen a relationship. Personal commitment also needs to be able to differentiate between the kind of approach which regards the continuation of the relationship as a negative, onerous responsibility, and that which defines marriage as a positive opportunity for continued growth and fulfillment for both partners. Such continuation is not merely a matter of personal desire, but of discipline and willingness to take practical actions to make outcomes conform to expectations. It is not just the strength of my personal desire or dedication, but also what actions I am willing to take to make my marriage work that determines the level of my personal commitment.

Since the design and data collection of the present study was completed, a number of other studies have addressed the issue of commitment in marriage (Olson, n.d., Stanley, 1986). A number of possible directions are suggested for further research.

The Olson study is presently in the process of analyzing data from over 300 couples using several new dimensions of marital commitment, including personal attitudes to marriage, a measurement of potential reactions should the marriage end, and some behavioural steps each partner would be prepared to take in order to improve the marital relationship. The measure of behavioural steps is rather weak, however, in that it asks whether the partner would be willing to take these steps, rather than measuring how often (within a particular time frame) the partner has actually taken such steps. No information is presently available as to how the particular items correlate to each subscale or the general scale of marital commitment.

The Stanley study has developed a Commitment Inventory composed of a total of 66 items. This Inventory is broken down into 11 subscales with 6 items in each subscale. The subscales measure the following: social pressure, morality of divorce, structural investments, availability of partners, meta commitment, disclosure investments, alternative monitoring, relationship agenda, willing to develop/have couple identity, primacy of relationship, and satisfaction with sacrifice. Theoretically, these subscales can be combined to measure constraint commitment (composed of the first four subscales) and personal dedication commitment (composed of the last seven subscales). The coefficient alphas for the eleven subscales range from .79 to .94, demonstrating a high level of internal consistency. The data suggest that each of these scales correlates significantly and positively with a relationship status variable (regular dating, serious dating, engagement, marriage). It is evident that further attempts to refine and improve the measure of commitment would benefit greatly from this research.

Further research in the area of marital stability needs to give serious consideration to the development of a longitudinal study. While the measures of both personal and structural commitment are clearly related to correlates of marital stability established by previous empirical research, the development of a longitudinal study would provide much stronger evidence of this relationship. Marriage is increasingly recognized as a process which is subject to change over time. The question remains whether it is possible to make accurate predictions of marital stability on the basis of the demonstrated relationships between selected correlates and the measures of personal and structural commitment. Such longitudinal data could provide important clarifications of such confusing factors as changes in marital satisfaction and commitment over the lifespan, as well as the impact of children in different stages of the family life cycle.

The development of a clearer measure of personal and structural commitment, and the use of a longitudinal study would also help to clarify the relationship between personal and structural commitment. The key theoretical studies are consistent in presenting such factors as personal affect (Levinger, 1965), affect balance (Nye _et_ _al_., 1973), or marital quality (Lewis & Spanier, 1979) as the essential prerequisite of marital cohesiveness or stability. In other words, external constraints are less important than strong personal relationships or personal interaction in maintaining marital stability. The research conducted in this study, however, indicates that the correlates of marital stability are more strongly and consistently related to *structural* commitment than to *personal* commitment. Reflection on the increase in marital instability beginning in the mid-1960's indicates that this increase is accompanied by a corresponding decrease in the number and power of structural constraints placed upon marriage. The mid-1960's and early 1970's witnessed such important changes as the introduction of more lenient divorce laws, accompanied by a decrease in the stigma associated with divorce; an increase in the number and proportion of women employed outside the home, accompanied by an increase in the independent income of females; increased emphasis on individualism, accompanied by a weakening of external constraints; increase in the proportion of people with no religious affiliation, accompanied by a decrease in the impact of religious dogma; and other changes which could be detailed. The preponderance of evidence seems to relate the increase in marital instability to a decrease in structural constraints, but no causal relationship has yet been demonstrated.

On the basis of these observations, it may be conjectured that the psychological emphasis on the development of interpersonal skills and other relationship attributes, while important, may contribute to a stable family situation only if the prerequisite structural and background social conditions exist, which provide for the kind of setting in which these skills can be successfully applied. It may not be sufficient, in other words, to examine factors of personal commitment alone. A multiplicity of factors need to be taken into account.

If a decrease in structural constraints leads to increased marital instability, what does the future hold? Clayton points out that a number of family experts claim that the divorce rate is not too high, and that divorce can be interpreted as a positive adjustment to a less than adequate marriage. "They would argue that the extensiveness of divorce indicates a more honest and healthy reaction to the realities of married life, and that such a propensity to divorce reflects a strength in the American family, not a weakness" (Clayton, 1975:556). Yankelovich (1981) suggests that a sweeping, irreversible cultural revolution is transforming the rules that once guided American life. This revolution affects as many as 80 percent of all adult Americans. At the core of this revolution is the desire for self-fulfillment, which has a profound effect on domestic life, involving the virtual abandonment of many deeply held beliefs about the family and marriage; such as the importance of marriage, the permanence of marriage, single parent families, cohabitation, childbearing, premarital sex, working wives and mothers, etc.

On the basis of considerable survey research, Yankelovich concludes that there is some evidence that American culture is evolving toward a new ethic of commitment, involving the formation of closer and deeper personal relationships, and the exchange of instrumental values for sacred/expressive ones. "If that interpretation is correct, we will see fewer casual divorces and serial marriages in the future, and a return to more enduring and stable relationships between men and women" (Yankelovich, 1981:86).

This study has provided an important foundation for further research in this area. All of the facts and all of the answers are not in yet. A productive and important field of research is open to further investigation.

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Appendix 4.1

Reliability Analysis for Overall Commitment Scale

ITEM-TOTAL STATISTICS	SCALE MEAN IF ITEM DELETED	SCALE VARIANCE IF ITEM DELETED	CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
VAR228	56.02	81.91	0.404	0.704
VAR229	57.25	93.68	0.164	0.734
VAR231	53.69	81.64	0.556	0.682
VAR232	53.42	90.48	0.369	0.709
VAR233	53.66	89.19	0.350	0.711
VAR239	53.88	90.88	0.276	0.720
VAR642	55.83	81.10	0.372	0.711
VAR643	57.26	95.11	0.110	0.742
VAR645	53.73	82.81	0.538	0.685
VAR646	53.55	89.09	0.428	0.703
VAR647	53.28	91.10	0.529	0.701
VAR653	54.09	85.93	0.411	0.702

STATISTICS FOR SCALE	MEAN	VARIANCE	STD. DEV.	# VARIABLES
	59.61	101.90	10.09	12

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SS	DF	M. SQUARE	F	PROB.
BETWEEN PEOPLE	1095.42	129	8.49		
WITHIN PEOPLE	6553.92	1430	4.58		
BETWEEN MEASURES	3263.36	11	296.67	127.93	0.000
RESIDUAL	3290.56	1419	2.32		
NONADDITIVITY	0.45	1	0.45	0.19	0[illegible]60
BALANCE	3290.11	1418	2.32		
TOTAL	7649.33	1559	4.91		

N OF CASES = 130 N OF ITEMS = 12 ALPHA = 0.72691

Appendix 4.2

Reliability Analysis for Personal Commitment Scale

ITEM-TOTAL STATISTICS	SCALE MEAN IF ITEM DELETED	SCALE VARIANCE IF ITEM DELETED	CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
VAR229	9.65	17.84	0.531	0.444
VAR230	8.21	16.12	0.387	0.542
VAR643	9.62	21.02	0.256	0.622
VAR644	8.38	16.98	0.406	0.520

STATISTICS FOR SCALE	MEAN	VARIANCE	STD. DEV.	# VARIABLES
	11.96	28.27	5.32	4

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SS	DF	M. SQUARE	F	PROB.
BETWEEN PEOPLE	1116.67	158	7.07		
WITHIN PEOPLE	1608.25	477	3.37		
BETWEEN MEASURES	289.22	3	96.41	34.64	0.000
RESIDUAL	1319.03	474	2.78		
NONADDITIVITY	30.52	1	30.52	11.20	0.001
BALANCE	1288.50	473	2.72		
TOTAL	2724.92	635	4.29		

N OF CASES = 159   N OF ITEMS = 4   ALPHA = 0.60626

Appendix 4.3

Reliability Analysis for Structural Commitment Scale

ITEM-TOTAL STATISTICS	SCALE MEAN IF ITEM DELETED	SCALE VARIANCE IF ITEM DELETED	CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
VAR231	42.01	39.40	0.641	0.720
VAR232	41.82	44.67	0.463	0.753
VAR233	41.94	44.71	0.423	0.759
VAR239	42.30	44.36	0.358	0.773
VAR645	42.08	41.15	0.546	0.738
VAR646	41.96	45.11	0.436	0.757
VAR647	41.68	46.07	0.614	0.742
VAR653	42.44	42.24	0.432	0.761

STATISTICS FOR SCALE	MEAN	VARIANCE	STD. DEV.	# VARIABLES
	48.03	54.99	7.42	8

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SS	DF	M. SQUARE	F	PROB.
BETWEEN PEOPLE	1093.11	159	6.87		
WITHIN PEOPLE	1791.88	1120	1.60		
BETWEEN MEASURES	69.25	7	9.89	6.39	0.000
RESIDUAL	1722.63	1113	1.55		
NONADDITIVITY	12.72	1	12.72	8.27	0.004
BALANCE	1709.91	1112	1.54		
TOTAL	2884.98	1279	2.26		

N OF CASES = 160 N OF ITEMS = 8 ALPHA = 0.77487

Appendix 4.4

Factor Analysis of Marital Commitment Variables
Factor Matrix Using Principal Factors With Iterations

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4
VAR228	0.40506	0.15787	0.22739	-0.23899
VAR229	0.05989	0.72558*	-0.03575	-0.19592
VAR230	-0.03064	0.55745*	0.02575	0.20700
VAR231	0.73878*	-0.17043	0.12450	0.01456
VAR232	0.54162*	-0.23255	0.24182	-0.04335
VAR233	0.51990*	-0.13461	0.23816	0.29767
VAR239	-0.34072*	0.08003	-0.21042	0.25146
VAR642	0.36741	0.22923	0.12156	-0.01773
VAR643	0.01262	0.42051*	0.13673	-0.21013
VAR644	-0.05891	0.55333*	0.22074	0.29753
VAR645	0.67557*	-0.01092	-0.13452	-0.31370
VAR646	0.50672*	0.14507	-0.13762	-0.14229
VAR647	0.67508*	-0.00643	0.06073	0.18315
VAR653	0.52512*	0.16288	-0.52948	0.14140

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT. OF VAR.	CUM PCT.
1	2.97737	51.7	51.7
2	1.55305	27.0	78.7
3	0.63184	11.0	89.6
4	0.54745	10.4	100.0

Appendix 4.5

Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables

NO.	VARIABLE	DESCRIPTION	RANGE	CASES	MEAN	STD DEV
1	VAR020	Age of Husband	19-79	178	41.2	15.16
2	VAR023	Age of Wife	18-76	178	38.9	14.64
3	VAR801	Absolute Age Differences	0-20	178	3.8	1.40
4	VAR805	Husband's Age at First Marriage	18-62	176	25.3	6.15
5	VAR905	Wife's Age at First Marriage	16-52	176	22.8	6.01
6	VAR431	Husband's Educational Level	2-11	178	7.0	1.85
7	VAR432	Wife's Educational Level	1-11	179	7.0	1.70
8	VAR433	Years of Schooling - Husband	4-23	177	12.9	3.56
9	VAR435	Years of Schooling - Wife	1-22	179	12.6	3.12
10	VAR802R	Absolute Educational Differences	0-10	177	2.3	2.11
11	VAR807	Wife Employment	1-3	162	2.0	0.90
12	VAR804	Religious Homogamy	1-2	173	1.7	0.45
13	VAR453	Income of Husband	1-20	167	12.3	4.35
14	VAR785	Income of Wife	1-16	171	5.0	4.56
15	VAR833	Socioeconomic Index	8-37	151	23.7	5.85
16	VAR451	Social Class Perception	2-6	143	3.6	0.93
17	VAR071	Satisfaction With Family Life: H	3-7	179	6.3	0.93
18	VAR485	Satisfaction With Family Life: W	3-7	179	6.4	0.85
19	VAR266	Happiness in Relationship: H	30-100	178	79.8	17.04
20	VAR680	Happiness in Relationship: W	30-100	178	79.0	16.63
21	VAR808	Marital Satisfaction Index	28-70	157	59.6	8.18
22	VAR809	Individualism Index	11-54	159	31.5	9.71
23	VAR373	Insulted or Swore: H Report	1-7	174	6.1	1.36
24	VAR737	Insulted or Swore: W Report	2-7	177	6.2	1.20
25	VAR374	Stomped Out: H Report	1-7	176	6.5	0.81
26	VAR738	Stomped Out: W Report	2-7	176	6.4	0.80
27	VAR408	Punched or Beaten	1-2	177	1.5	0.50
28	VAR409	Punched/Beaten as Child/Adult	1-3	92	1.6	0.75
29	VAR410	Times Punched/Beaten	1-3	83	2.2	0.74
30	VAR870	HRWR Index	0-19	160	5.5	3.19
31	VAR871	HPWR Index	0-23	150	6.0	3.19
32	VAR872	WPHR Index	0-18	149	5.6	3.22
33	VAR873	HIP Index	0-15	140	5.6	3.09
34	VAR874	WIP Index	0-22	145	6.2	3.35
35	VAR064	Neighbourhood Adults Known: H	1-6	179	2.9	1.17

Appendix 4.5 continued

NO.	VARIABLE	DESCRIPTION	RANGE	CASES	MEAN	STD DEV
36	VAR478	Neighbourhood Adults Known: W	1-7	179	3.2	1.43
37	VAR065	Chat With Neighbours: H	1-7	179	4.4	1.83
38	VAR479	Chat With Neighbours: W	1-7	178	4.3	1.98
39	VAR066	Social Visits With Friends: H	1-7	179	4.1	1.39
40	VAR480	Social Visits With Friends: W	2-7	179	4.1	1.40
41	VAR062	Time in Dwelling	1-480	179	85.1	99.68
42	VAR063	Time in Edmonton	1-864	179	213.8	176.15
43	VAR067	Social Visits With Relations: H	1-7	179	4.4	1.50
44	VAR481	Social Visits With Relations: W	1-7	179	4.5	1.58
45	VAR270	Keep in Touch With Relatives: H	1-7	178	3.9	1.71
46	VAR684	Keep in Touch With Relatives: W	1-7	179	3.1	1.55
47	VAR080	Number Times Divorced: H	0-2	177	0.05	0.23
48	VAR494	Number Times Divorced: W	0-2	178	0.11	0.33
49	VAR083	Number Times Married: H	1-3	178	1.20	0.55
50	VAR497	Number Times Married: W	1-3	178	1.21	0.54
51	VAR814	Religious Affiliation: H	1-4	132	2.26	0.90
52	VAR914	Religious Affiliation: W	1-4	133	2.39	0.87
53	VAR445	Religious Participation: H	0-30	176	1.63	3.48
54	VAR446	Religious Participation: W	0-30	177	1.77	3.44
55	VAR251	Tougher Divorce Laws: H	1-7	170	4.3	2.00
56	VAR665	Tougher Divorce Laws: W	1-7	178	4.3	2.00
57	VAR817	Presence of Children	1-2	179	1.5	0.50
58	VAR818	Age of Children	1-3	179	1.8	0.84
59	VAR819	Number of Children: H	0-7	177	1.8	1.58
60	VAR919	Number of Children: W	0-7	179	1.8	1.55
61	VAR820	Duration of Marriage	0-54	177	14.9	13.20
62	VAR929	Personal Commitment	1-7	173	2.9	1.34
63	VAR930	Structural Commitment	1-7	166	5.9	0.93

Appendix 4.5 continued

	VAR020	VAR023	VAR801	VAR805	VAR905	VAR431
VAR020	1.0000	.96***	.16*	.46***	.40***	-.40***
VAR023		1.0000	-.09	.39***	.39***	-.33***
VAR801			1.0000	.17*	-.05	-.24***
VAR805				1.0000	.51***	-.10
VAR905					1.0000	.04
VAR431						1.0000

Appendix 4.5 continued

	VAR432	VAR433	VAR435	VAR802R	VAR807	VAR804
VAR020	-.37***	-.41***	-.36***	.20**	.32	.05
VAR023	-.33***	-.37***	-.31***	.19**	.31***	.06
VAR801	-.16**	-.14*	-.23***	.09	.04	-.00
VAR805	-.08	-.17*	-.13*	.09	.18**	.02
VAR905	-.01	.00	.01	.15*	.13*	-.02
VAR431	.56***	.87***	.55***	-.09	-.10	.00
VAR432	1.0000	.52***	.90***	-.03	-.25***	-.10
VAR433		1.000	.58***	.01	-.12	-.05
VAR435			1.0000	-.04	-.21**	-.07
VAR802R				1.0000	.09	-.01
VAR807					1.0000	.09
VAR804						1.0000

Appendix 4.5 continued

	VAR453	VAR785	VAR833	VAR451	VAR071	VAR485
VAR020	-.16*	-.24***	-.24**	-.09	.01	.05
VAR023	-.13**	-.22**	-.18*	-.05	-.02	.07
VAR801	-.07	-.06	-.18*	-.09	.09	-.09
VAR805	-.26***	-.10	-.26***	-.18*	-.02	.01
VAR905	-.18*	.00	-.04	.03	-.03	.02
VAR431	.32***	.17*	.72***	.29***	-.02	-.07
VAR432	.19**	.33***	.53***	.32***	.05	.04
VAR433	.30***	.18**	.72***	.23**	-.03	-.15*
VAR435	.17*	.30***	.50***	.31***	.06	.05
VAR802R	-.01	.03	.03	-.00	-.13*	-.14
VAR807	.16	-.72***	-.07	-.14	.18**	.14*
VAR804	-.03	-.10	-.09	-.03	.02	.04
VAR453	1.0000	-.03	.71***	.35***	-.01	-.04
VAR785		1.0000	.21**	.16*	-.12	-.08
VAR833			1.0000	.56***	-.09	-.18*
VAR451				1.0000	.08	.02
VAR071					1.0000	.43***
VAR485						1.0000

Appendix 4.5 continued

	VAR266	VAR680	VAR808	VAR809	VAR373	VAR737
VAR020	-.05	.00	.38***	-.42***	.39***	.31***
VAR023	-.05	.01	.41***	-.38***	.40***	.32***
VAR801	-.02	-.04	-.03	-.21**	.02	-.02
VAR805	-.02	.05	.10	-.23**	.17*	.19**
VAR905	.03	.07	.14*	-.20**	.18**	.22**
VAR431	-.06	.08	-.05	.28***	-.12*	-.03
VAR432	.09	.29***	.04	.31***	-.09	-.02
VAR433	-.04	.03	-.07	.29***	-.14*	-.03
VAR435	.09	.26***	.07	.33***	-.09	.03
VAR802R	-.03	.09	-.03	-.21**	.03	.02
VAR807	-.09	-.01	.13	-.42***	.20**	.09
VAR804	-.03	-.02	-.02	-.16*	.10	.06
VAR453	-.12	-.03	.08	.15*	.03	-.09
VAR785	.07	.09	-.09	.38***	-.16*	-.05
VAR833	-.06	-.02	.08	.30***	-.02	-.05
VAR451	.17*	.30***	.13	.20*	.12	.10
VAR071	.30***	.37***	.17*	-.12	.13*	.12
VAR485	.36***	.50***	.26***	-.24***	.18**	.17**
VAR266	1.0000	.43***	.16*	-.04	.07	.08
VAR680		1.0000	.28***	-.07	.24***	.28***
VAR808			1.0000	-.23***	.48***	.45***
VAR809				1.0000	-.24***	-.09
VAR373					1.0000	.50***
VAR737						1.0000

Appendix 4.5 continued

	VAR374	VAR738	VAR408	VAR409	VAR410	VAR870
VAR020	.33***	.24***	.12**	-.03	.06	.10
VAR023	.33***	.26***	.10	-.05	.05	.08
VAR801	-.07	-.09	.14*	.06	.18	.10
VAR805	.15*	.15*	.02	.02	.03	.11
VAR905	.15*	.05	.05	-.06	.05	-.01
VAR431	-.10	-.19**	-.06	-.14	-.03	-.13
VAR432	-.06	-.10	-.07	-.09	.07	-.15*
VAR433	-.14*	-.19**	-.12	-.13	.06	-.16*
VAR435	-.06	-.05	-.13*	-.05	.14	-.16*
VAR802R	.05	.02	-.02	.11	.05	-.09
VAR807	.10	.02	-.19**	-.03	.12	.03
VAR804	-.03	.01	.04	-.13	-.00	.13
VAR453	.03	-.03	.04	-.11	-.02	.06
VAR785	-.10	-.02	-.12	-.01	-.00	-.14*
VAR833	-.06	-.14*	-.04	-.23*	.04	-.05
VAR451	-.06	-.04	-.14	-.16	-.09	-.01
VAR071	.15*	.07	-.19**	-.12	-.08	-.02
VAR485	.13*	.17*	.01	-.07	-.12	-.15*
VAR266	.09	.01	.04	.03	.08	-.15*
VAR680	.09	.12	-.03	-.10	-.08	-.22**
VAR808	.34***	.18*	.10	-.08	-.02	-.17*
VAR809	-.18*	-.03	-.15*	-.12	.05	-.04
VAR373	.47***	.19*	.06	-.20*	.12	-.05
VAR737	.27***	.34***	.03	-.11	.07	-.11
VAR374	1.0000	.44***	.00	-.25**	-.01	-.05
VAR738		1.0000	.05	-.03	.01	-.02
VAR408			1.0000	.00	.00	-.08
VAR409				1.0000	.09	-.03
VAR410					1.0000	-.03
VAR870						1.0000

Appendix 4.5 continued

	VAR871	VAR872	VAR873	VAR874	VAR064	VAR478
VAR020	.02	.07	-.03	.05	.24***	.27***
VAR023	.02	.04	-.06	.06	.25***	.30***
VAR801	.02	.10	.08	-.03	.02	-.04
VAR805	.06	.11	.08	.04	.15*	.05
VAR905	.03	-.00	-.04	.03	.14*	.09
VAR431	-.14*	-.10	-.13	-.09	.00	.02
VAR432	-.15*	-.13	-.24**	-.16*	-.05	-.05
VAR433	-.18*	-.11	-.12	-.14*	-.04	-.06
VAR435	-.17*	-.08	-.17*	-.14	-.02	-.05
VAR802R	-.12	-.10	-.06	-.05	.04	.01
VAR807	.12	-.08	-.00	.02	.12	.18*
VAR804	.11	.15*	.10	.01	.21**	.14*
VAR453	.10	-.02	-.09	.08	.07	.08
VAR785	-.08	-.10	-.14	-.07	-.07	-.15*
VAR833	-.05	.08	-.17*	-.05	-.07	.05
VAR451	-.06	.11	-.01	-.08	.06	-.01
VAR071	-.00	-.05	-.01	-.04	.07	-.04
VAR485	-.02	-.18*	-.04	-.02	.18**	.11
VAR266	-.15*	-.07	-.13	-.14*	-.14*	-.12*
~~VAR680~~	~~-.18*~~	-.23**	-.17*	-.19**	.07	.03
VAR808	-.22**	-.24**	-.32***	-.25**	.13	.16*
VAR809	.04	.08	.02	.05	-.12	-.10
VAR373	-.13	-.00	-.13	-.13	.15*	.08
VAR737	-.19**	-.10	-.24**	-.22**	.07	.07
VAR374	.00	.01	-.09	.04	.13*	.07
VAR738	.00	.01	-.13	.05	.25***	.21**
VAR408	-.13	-.08	-.13	-.07	.03	.04
VAR409	-.04	-.24*	-.01	-.07	-.07	-.10
VAR410	-.08	-.02	-.16	-.08	-.02	.01
VAR870	.69***	.79***	.59***	.59***	.03	.02
VAR871	1.0000	.60***	.53***	.80***	.03	.01
VAR872		1.0000	.76***	.63***	-.01	.04
VAR873			1.0000	.63***	-.05	-.05
VAR874				1.0000	-.04	.02
VAR064					1.0000	.64***
VAR478						1.0000

Appendix 4.5 continued

	VAR065	VAR479	VAR066	VAR480	VAR062	VAR063
VAR020	-.08	-.12	.30***	.25***	.60***	.51***
VAR023	-.08	-.10	.30***	.25***	.64***	.51***
VAR801	-.03	-.08	.02	-.04	-.08	.04
VAR805	-.04	.02	.14*	.07	.21**	.15*
VAR905	-.03	-.10	.18**	.13*	.20**	.14*
VAR431	-.01	.00	-.07	-.12	-.16*	-.23***
VAR432	-.06	-.00	-.09	-.12*	-.16*	-.22***
VAR433	-.02	.01	-.11	-.15*	-.22***	-.26***
VAR435	-.07	.05	-.08	-.18**	-.16*	-.21***
VAR802R	.10	-.07	.10	.00	.12	.05
VAR807	.05	-.20**	.17*	.08	.28***	.12
VAR804	-.00	.08	-.04	-.04	.04	-.00
VAR453	.04	-.02	.10	-.01	.03	.02
VAR785	-.02	.19**	-.14*	-.03	-.21**	.04
VAR833	-.09	.01	.05	-.05	-.04	-.08
VAR451	.01	.00	-.03	.03	.03	.03
VAR071	-.04	-.01	-.07	-.04	-.01	-.06
VAR485	.01	-.04	.03	-.08	.02	.09
VAR266	-.04	.06	-.14*	-.08	-.10	-.07
VAR680	-.05	-.03	-.11	-.11	.01	.01
VAR808	.03	.04	.07	-.01	.33***	.16*
VAR809	-.01	.22**	-.09	-.12	-.22**	-.21**
VAR373	.05	.07	.06	.06	.26***	.17*
VAR737	.05	.17*	.11	.12	.17*	.19**
VAR374	.06	-.04	.03	.07	.22***	.14*
VAR738	-.19**	-.01	-.01	.07	.21**	.29***
VAR408	.06	-.02	-.06	-.06	.08	.07
VAR409	-.02	-.05	.01	.04	-.12	-.11
VAR410	-.02	.06	.02	-.11	.17	-.11
VAR870	-.01	-.01	.01	-.04	-.01	.11
VAR871	-.01	-.05	.04	.05	-.06	.05
VAR872	-.01	.02	-.05	-.05	.02	.09
VAR873	.06	.02	-.12	-.06	-.07	-.01
VAR874	.08	-.03	-.01	-.01	-.02	.04
VAR064	-.35***	-.28***	.07	-.07	.31***	.30***
VAR478	-.26***	-.36***	.14*	.02	.42***	.31***
VAR065	1.0000	.44***	.05	.12*	-.06	-.06
VAR479		1.0000	.07	.04	-.08	.05
VAR066			1.0000	.57***	.26***	.23***
VAR480				1.0000	.24***	.20**
VAR062					1.0000	.61***
VAR063						1.0000

Appendix 4.5 continued

	VAR067	VAR481	VAR270	VAR684	VAR080	VAR494
VAR020	.05	.07	.10	.02	.09	.02
VAR023	.09	.06	-.11	.03	.02	.09
VAR801	-.18**	-.01	-.10	-.09	.13*	-.28***
VAR805	-.05	.05	.03	.13*	-.07	.17*
VAR905	.12	.21**	-.01	.19**	-.01	-.20
VAR431	.10	.12	.08	.13*	-.16	-.03
VAR432	.05	.09	-.03	.09	.01	-.03
VAR433	.10	.09	.08	.08	-.08	-.06
VAR435	.12	.10	-.04	.13	.06	.00
VAR802R	.01	.04	.09	.05	.08	.04
VAR807	.07	.08	.08	-.10	.00	-.07
VAR804	-.04	-.02	-.09	-.04	-.16*	-.11
VAR453	.05	.02	.11	-.06	.16*	-.03
VAR785	-.09	-.12	-.06	.11	.05	.05
VAR833	.12	.13	.13	.02	.09	-.08
VAR451	.17*	.17*	.15*	.05	.15*	-.01
VAR071	-.02	-.00	.01	-.03	-.02	-.21**
VAR485	-.01	-.08	-.01	-.19**	.00	-.06
VAR266	.04	.07	-.01	.02	-.01	-.12
VAR680	.02	-.03	.04	-.08	.06	-.07
VAR808	.07	.06	.08	.01	.02	-.06
VAR809	.13	.08	.01	.15*	.08	.17*
VAR373	-.09	-.11	-.05	-.12	.04	-.04
VAR737	.01	-.03	-.03	.04	.06	-.03
VAR374	.05	.05	.11	-.02	-.02	-.04
VAR738	-.04	-.08	.04	-.09	-.03	.10
VAR408	.01	-.02	.04	.10	.01	-.18**
VAR409	-.09	-.25***	-.06	-.07	.09	.03
VAR410	-.05	-.03	.06	.05	.08	-.11
VAR870	.04	-.03	.02	.04	-.01	-.01
VAR871	-.02	-.01	-.05	-.05	.04	-.02
VAR872	.06	.04	.01	.13	.06	.08
VAR873	.05	-.02	.05	.05	.07	.07
VAR874	.10	.01	.02	-.02	.07	.12
VAR064	-.06	-.04	.03	-.17*	.01	-.15*
VAR478	-.04	.01	.07	-.12	.05	-.02
VAR065	.08	.01	.13*	.14*	.07	.11
VAR479	-.06	-.06	-.08	.09	-.04	.14*
VAR066	.20**	.23***	.04	.14*	.18**	.06
VAR480	.04	.22***	.07	.16**	.14*	.12
VAR062	-.01	.16*	.04	-.01	.02	-.03
VAR063	-.13	-.01	.00	-.10	.11	.06
VAR067	1.0000	.64***	.47***	.44***	.11	.15*
VAR481		1.0000	.31***	.45***	.02	.03
VAR270			1.0000	.23***	.18**	.15*
VAR684				1.0000	-.03	.10
VAR080					1.0000	.16*
VAR494						1.0000

Appendix 4.5 continued

	VAR083	VAR497	VAR814	VAR914	VAR445	VAR446
VAR020	-.21**	-.20**	.15*	.15*	.03	.04
VAR023	-.22**	-.17*	.14	.12	.04	.04
VAR801	-.04	-.12	.03	.10	-.05	.02
VAR805	-.08	.07	.14	.10	.14*	.12
VAR905	.00	-.13*	.10	.06	.21**	.18**
VAR431	-.01	-.00	-.12	-.18*	.07	.04
VAR432	-.01	-.03	-.13	-.12	.11	.08
VAR433	-.01	-.02	-.20*	-.22**	-.04	-.01
VAR435	.02	-.02	-.14	-.09	.16*	.11
VAR802R	-.06	-.02	-.12	-.12	.02	.02
VAR807	-.11	-.09	.05	.12	.02	.05
VAR804	-.11	-.05	.06	-.16*	.21**	.18**
VAR453	-.23**	-.23***	-.11	-.11	-.05	-.04
VAR785	.03	-.02	.01	-.12	-.05	-.05
VAR833	-.13	-.18*	-.15	-.13	-.03	-.07
VAR451	.02	-.13	-.10	.03	.05	.05
VAR071	-.16*	-.19**	.13	.11	-.10	-.07
VAR485	-.07	-.12	.12	.23**	.10	.15*
VAR266	.00	-.08	.05	.06	.04	.06
VAR680	-.09	-.07	-.03	.05	.11	.14*
VAR808	-.09	-.08	.09	.11	.09	.16*
VAR809	.16*	.16*	-.20*	-.24**	.31***	.36***
VAR373	-.20**	-.15*	.09	.30***	.05	.05
VAR737	-.10	-.16*	.01	.11	.10	.10
VAR374	-.23***	-.27***	.18*	.19*	.06	.05
VAR738	-.06	-.06	-.02	.02	.03	.03
VAR408	-.01	-.12	-.09	-.08	.08	.12*
VAR409	.06	.09	-.02	.05	-.09	-.11
VAR410	-.06	-.16	.02	.05	.08	.11
VAR870	-.13	-.06	-.05	-.02	-.07	-.07
VAR871	-.08	-.05	-.09	-.02	-.10	-.10
VAR872	-.06	-.06	.02	.06	-.06	-.08
VAR873	.01	.00	.01	.08	-.08	-.10
VAR874	.01	-.04	-.03	.04	-.08	-.10
VAR064	-.10	-.14*	.01	.04	.07	.08
VAR478	-.17**	-.20**	-.04	.02	.01	.06
VAR065	.06	.10	-.01	-.02	.04	.04
VAR479	.10	.19**	.01	-.04	-.04	-.06
VAR066	-.07	-.10	.07	.11	-.04	-.04
VAR480	-.03	-.02	.16*	.09	-.04	-.06
VAR062	-.18**	-.16*	.14	.12	.02	.04
VAR063	-.14*	-.13*	.05	.08	-.01	-.00
VAR067	.19**	.14*	-.04	-.09	-.06	-.05
0AR481	.19**	.09	.06	-.09	-.00	.01
VAR270	.12	.08	-.11	-.15*	-.05	-.06
VAR684	.00	.02	.07	-.08	.00	-.00
VAR080	.24***	.01	-.13	.11	-.05	-.05
VAR494	.07	.35***	.00	.00	-.07	-.13*
VAR083	1.0000	.66***	-.20*	-.05	-.11	-.11
VAR497		1.0000	-.16*	-.10	-.12	-.15*
VAR814			1.0000	.74***	.31***	.33***
VAR914				1.0000	.27***	.32***

VAR445	1.0000	.91***
VAR446		1.0000

Appendix 4.5 continued

	VAR251	VAR665	VAR817	VAR818	VAR819	VAR919
VAR020	.15*	.06	-.25***	-.38***	.46***	.48***
VAR023	.16*	.05	-.28***	-.41***	.41***	.50***
VAR801	-.03	.06	.04	.04	.15*	-.05
VAR805	.04	-.02	-.19**	-.20**	-.10	.07
VAR905	.07	.10	-.20**	-.23***	-.05	-.14*
VAR431	-.17*	-.14*	.12	.16*	-.23***	-.21**
VAR432	-.07	-.18**	.10	.12	-.30***	-.30***
VAR433	-.17*	-.14*	.22**	.22**	-.16*	-.21**
VAR435	-.08	-.21**	.15*	.16*	-.31***	-.31***
VAR802R	.22**	-.03	-.08	-.14*	.02	.04
VAR807	.14*	.04	.24***	.30***	.37***	.33***
VAR804	-.09	-.10	-.02	-.05	.13*	.11
VAR453	-.10	-.04	.34	.30***	.15*	.14*
VAR785	-.09	-.03	-.19**	-.24***	-.35***	-.32***
VAR833	-.09	-.16*	.26***	.20**	.03	-.03
VAR451	.05	-.00	.13	.08	.01	-.03
VAR071	.11	.06	.08	.09	.05	.07
VAR485	.19**	.08	-.08	-.09	-.04	.02
VAR266	.17*	.07	-.09	-.06	-.14*	-.11
VAR680	.10	.01	-.16*	-.12	-.21**	-.15*
VAR808	.08	.06	-.12	-.19**	.14*	.16*
VAR809	-.30***	-.18*	.08	.09	-.28***	-.24***
VAR373	.13*	.02	-.13*	-.17*	.10	.12
VAR737	.15*	.04	-.01	-.06	.11	.12
VAR374	.14*	.04	-.03	-.06	.15*	.21**
VAR738	.12	.11	-.06	-.04	.08	.13*
VAR408	.07	.06	-.11	-.15*	.08	.07
VAR409	.11	-.11	-.07	.01	.05	.04
VAR410	.06	.02	.11	.07	.01	-.01
VAR870	-.09	.01	.00	.01	.08	.09
VAR871	-.07	-.01	.12	.14*	.09	.10
VAR872	-.12	-.04	.03	.04	-.02	.01
VAR873	-.10	-.10	.12	.13	.00	.02
VAR874	-.04	.06	.11	.09	.04	.10
VAR064	-.11	.01	.02	-.01	.13*	.12
0AR478	-.10	-.00	.05	.02	.13*	.12*
VAR065	-.01	.03	.03	-.03	.01	.01
VAR479	-.07	-.06	-.15*	-.22**	-.12*	-.09
VAR066	.03	-.03	.05	-.03	.19**	.16*
VAR480	-.06	.09	.03	-.02	.19**	.16*
VAR062	.05	.07	-.17*	-.28***	.18**	.21**
VAR063	.11	.10	-.19**	-.27***	.15*	.12
VAR067	-.06	-.03	.07	-.02	.01	.03
VAR481	-.06	-.03	.09	.01	-.07	-.10
VAR270	-.09	-.03	.19**	.10	.08	.09
VAR684	-.02	-.04	.09	.05	-.08	-.01
VAR080	-.17*	-.11	.08	.07	.12	-.08
VAR494	-.06	-.16*	.06	.15	-.17*	.05
VAR083	-.19**	-.01	-.06	-.02	-.13*	-.21**
VAR497	-.27***	-.08	-.19**	-.14*	-.24***	-.16*
VAR814	.25***	.28***	-.11	-.11	-.05	.07
VAR914	.24**	.21**	-.03	.04	-.01	-.00

VAR445	.22**	.14*	.04	.05	-.03	-.04
VAR446	.20**	.20**	.03	.04	-.00	-.01
VAR251	1.0000	.23***	-.06	-.07	.09	.14*
VAR665		1.0000	-.09	-.13*	.01	.01
VAR817			1.0000	.90***	.26***	.21**
VAR818				1.0000	.15*	.10
VAR819					1.0000	.84***
VAR919						1.0000

Appendix 4.5 continued

	VAR820	VAR929	VAR930
VAR020	.87***	-.08	.29***
VAR023	.90***	-.05	.28***
VAR801	.01	-.16*	.09
VAR805	.07	.02	.11
VAR905	.10	.04	.09
VAR431	-.36***	.31***	-.16*
VAR432	-.36***	.20**	-.06
VAR433	-.37***	.24***	-.14*
VAR435	-.36***	.21**	-.03
VAR802R	.15*	.05	.07
VAR807	.29***	.09	.27***
VAR804	.12	.05	.12
VAR453	-.06	.23***	.01
VAR785	-.27***	-.05	-.03
VAR833	-.14*	.25***	-.03
VAR451	-.05	-.01	.03
VAR071	.02	-.19**	.29***
VAR485	.06	-.05	.41***
VAR266	-.02	-.10	.19**
VAR680	-.02	-.03	.31***
VAR808	.38***	.05	.28***
VAR809	-.36***	.08	-.48***
VAR373	.34***	.06	.30***
VAR737	.24***	.02	.23**
VAR364	.29***	.02	.27***
VAR738	.22**	.08	.15*
VAR408	.16*	.05	-.03
VAR409	-.02	-.01	-.08
VAR410	.07	-.01	.12
VAR870	.10	-.06	-.04
VAR871	.02	-.12	-.04
VAR872	.03	-.11	-.08
VAR873	-.06	-.15*	.05
VAR874	.03	-.07	-.06
VAR064	.24***	-.06	.21**
VAR478	.30***	.05	.10
VAR065	-.11	.08	-.07
VAR479	-.12	.05	-.13*
VAR066	.24***	-.02	.03
VAR480	.21**	-.12	.04
VAR062	.62***	-.01	.16*
VAR063	.47***	-.01	.19**
VAR067	.05	.01	-.08
VAR481	.02	.01	-.11
VAR270	.06	.03	-.03
VAR684	-.05	.10	-.02
VAR080	-.06	-.01	-.01
VAR494	-.09	-.01	-.20**
VAR083	-.29***	-.11	-.37***
VAR497	-.25***	-.01	-.43***
VAR814	.11	-.05	.30***
VAR914	.09	.02	.24***

VAR445	-.03	.27***	.25***
VAR446	-.01	.22**	.28***
VAR251	.17*	.02	.34***
VAR665	.08	.01	.17*
VAR817	-.21**	.10	.03
VAR818	-.35***	.13*	.01
VAR819	.55***	-.01	.14*
VAR919	.57***	-.03	.17*
VAR820	1.0000	-.07	.29***
VAR870		1.0000	-.01
VAR871			1.0000

* = .05   ** = .01   *** = .001   level or greater

Appendix 5.1

Personal and Structural Commitment by Age at First Marriage

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE	HUSBANDS			WIVES		
	MEAN	STD DEV	N	MEAN	STD DEV	N
	PERSONAL COMMITMENT					
Below 20	2.56	1.15	16	2.46	1.04	48
20-29	3.05	1.31	136	3.20	1.37	111
30-39	3.23	1.78	14	3.42	1.85	6
40-49	-	-	-	3.13	2.30	2
50-69	2.25	1.70	4	2.33	1.53	3
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	F=1.21, p=.31			F=2.99, p=.02		
EXPLAINED VARIANCE	R^2=.00, ETA^2=.02			R^2=.02, ETA^2=.07		
	STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT					
Below 20	5.42	1.27	14	5.90	0.89	45
20-29	6.04	0.87	131	6.02	0.91	107
30-39	6.03	1.00	15	6.75	0.27	6
40-49	-	-	-	6.73	0.03	2
50-69	6.58	0.49	4	5.90	0.98	3
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	F=2.48, p=.06			F=1.56, p=.19		
EXPLAINED VARIANCE	R^2=.03, ETA^2=.04			R^2=.01, ETA^2=.04		

Appendix 5.2

Personal Commitment by Educational Differences

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES	ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCES			HUSBAND MORE ED.			WIFE MORE ED.		
	MEAN	STD DEV	N	MEAN	STD DEV	N	MEAN	STD DEV	N
	PERSONAL COMMITMENT								
Same	2.79	1.28	36	2.79	1.28	36	2.79	1.28	36
1 Year	2.93	1.25	41	3.06	1.25	22	2.79	1.27	19
2 Years	2.95	1.57	42	3.16	1.39	25	2.65	1.80	17
3-4 Years	3.15	1.05	28	3.39	0.98	18	2.73	1.06	10
5-6 Years	3.78	1.47	14	3.65	1.74	6	3.88	1.55	8
7-10 Years	2.48	1.08	10	2.43	0.73	6	2.56	1.81	4
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	F=1.052, p=.40			F=1.12, p=.35					
EXPLAINED VARIANCE	R^2=.00, ETA^2=.06			R^2=.00, ETA^2=.07					

Appendix 5.3

Personal Commitment by Level of Education

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	HUSBANDS			WIVES		
	MEAN	STD DEV	N	MEAN	STD DEV	N
	PERSONAL COMMITMENT					
No High School	2.57	1.13	29	2.88	1.26	22
High School Incomplete	2.28	1.20	26	2.53	1.20	29
High School Complete	2.97	1.29	55	2.75	1.19	65
Some University	3.10	1.35	31	3.36	1.47	30
Bachelor's Degree	4.05	1.42	21	3.83	1.30	18
Graduate School	3.63	0.81	10	3.56	1.70	9
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	F=5.87, p=.0001			F=3.61, p=.004		
EXPLAINED VARIANCE	R^2=.11, ETA^2=.15			R^2=.06, ETA^2=.10		

Appendix 5.4

Personal Commitment by Income

INCOME	HUSBANDS MEAN	HUSBANDS STD DEV	HUSBANDS N	WIVES MEAN	WIVES STD DEV	WIVES N
	PERSONAL COMMITMENT					
Under $10,000	2.48	1.33	23	3.05	1.44	107
$10,000 - 20,000	2.78	1.30	55	2.68	1.01	46
$20,000 - 30,000	3.37	1.30	52	3.25	1.31	10
$30,000 - 40,000	3.14	1.42	22	3.88	0.18	2
$40,000 - 50,000	3.20	0.94	5			
$50,000 +	3.08	1.38	6			
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	F=1.92, p=.09			F=1.33, p=.27		
EXPLAINED VARIANCE	R^2=.03, ETA^2=.06			R^2=.00, ETA^2=.02		

Appendix 5.5

Structural Commitment by Degree of Happiness

DEGREE OF HAPPINESS IN RELATIONSHIP	STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband Low, Wife Low	5.73	.98	73
Husband Low, Wife High	6.28	.81	28
Husband High, Wife Low	5.92	.94	25
Husband High, Wife High	6.30	.78	39

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F=4.53, p=.004

EXPLAINED VARIANCE $R^2=.05$, $ETA^2=.08$

Appendix 5.6

Structural Commitment by Satisfaction with Family Life

SATISFACTION WITH FAMILY LIFE	STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband Low, Wife Low	5.55	.93	46
Husband Low, Wife High	6.03	.95	29
Husband High, Wife Low	5.84	1.02	32
Husband High, Wife High	6.39	.68	59

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F=8.38, p=.000

EXPLAINED VARIANCE R^2=.11, ETA^2=.13

Appendix 5.7

Structural Commitment by Violence (Insulted or Swore)

VIOLENCE (INSULTED OR SWORE)	STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband Low, Wife Low	6.32	.77	64
Husband Low, Wife High	6.23	.79	23
Husband High, Wife Low	5.95	.98	20
Husband High, Wife High	5.52	.97	54

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F=8.78, p=.000

EXPLAINED VARIANCE R^2=.14, ETA^2=.14

Appendix 5.8

Structural Commitment by Violence (Stomped Out)

	STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT		
VIOLENCE (STOMPED OUT)	MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband Low, Wife Low	6.23	.83	72
Husband Low, Wife High	5.96	.93	32
Husband High, Wife Low	5.61	1.10	12
Husband High, Wife High	5.76	.97	46

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F=3.36, p=.02

EXPLAINED VARIANCE $R^2=.05$, $ETA^2=.06$

Appendix 5.9

Structural Commitment by Neighbourhood Adults Known

NEIGHBOURHOOD ADULTS KNOWN	STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT		
	MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband Low, Wife Low	5.91	.99	94
Husband Low, Wife High	5.80	.98	26
Husband High, Wife Low	6.44	.74	14
Husband High, Wife High	6.18	.66	32

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F=2.25, p=.08

EXPLAINED VARIANCE R^2=.02, ETA^2=.04

Appendix 5.10

Structural Commitment by Previous Divorce

DEGREE OF HAPPINESS IN RELATIONSHIP	STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband Low, Wife Low	6.04	.92	143
Husband Low, Wife High	5.53	.99	15
Husband High, Wife Low	6.16	.57	4
Husband High, Wife High	5.67	1.37	3

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F=1.54, p=.21

EXPLAINED VARIANCE R^2=.01, ETA^2=.03

Appendix 5.11

Structural Commitment by Times Married

NUMBER OF TIMES MARRIED	STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband Low, Wife Low	6.13	.80	132
Husband Low, Wife High	5.65	1.23	14
Husband High, Wife Low	5.89	.95	9
Husband High, Wife High	4.75	1.11	10

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F=8.66, p=.000

EXPLAINED VARIANCE R^2=.12, ETA^2=.14

Appendix 5.12

Personal Commitment by Religious Participation

RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION	PERSONAL COMMITMENT MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband Low, Wife Low	2.88	1.11	90
Husband Low, Wife High	2.68	1.10	14
Husband High, Wife Low	5.13	1.24	2
Husband High, Wife High	3.13	1.62	63

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F=2.40, p=.07

EXPLAINED VARIANCE $R^2=.01$, $ETA^2=.04$

Appendix 5.13

Structural Commitment by Religious Participation

RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION	STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband Low, Wife Low	5.76	1.00	90
Husband Low, Wife High	6.09	.53	12
Husband High, Wife Low	6.63	.35	2
Husband High, Wife High	6.33	.73	59

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE $F=5.56$, $p=.001$

EXPLAINED VARIANCE $R^2=.09$, $ETA^2=.10$

Appendix 5.14

Structural Commitment by Divorce Laws

	STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT		
TOUGHER DIVORCE LAWS	MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband Low, Wife Low	5.70	1.06	53
Husband Low, Wife High	5.75	1.04	31
Husband High, Wife Low	6.15	.68	29
Husband High, Wife High	6.38	.69	45

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE $F=5.66$, $p=.001$

EXPLAINED VARIANCE $R^2=.09$, $ETA^2=.10$

Appendix 5.15

Personal Commitment by Presence of Children

PRESENCE OF CHILDREN	PERSONAL COMMITMENT MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband No Child., Wife No Child.	3.07	1.20	41
Husband No Child., Wife Children	2.55	1.05	10
Husband Children, Wife No Child.	2.38	.92	4
Husband Children, Wife Children	3.03	1.42	116

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F=0.73, p=.54

EXPLAINED VARIANCE R^2=.00, ETA^2=.01

Appendix 5.16

Structural Commitment by Presence of Children

PRESENCE OF CHILDREN	STRUCTURAL COMMITMENT MEAN	STD DEV	N
Husband No Child., Wife No Child.	5.75	.99	40
Husband No Child., Wife Children	5.66	.98	10
Husband Children, Wife No Child.	5.69	2.07	4
Husband Children, Wife Children	6.14	.81	110

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F=2.52, p=.06

EXPLAINED VARIANCE R^2=.04, ETA^2=.05